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Four Hundred Years

OF

AMERICAN HISTORY.

BY

JACOB HARRIS PATTON, A.M., Ph.D.,

AUTHOR OF "NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES," "POLITICAL
ECONOMY FOR AMERICAN YOUTH," ETC.

WITH AN

INTRODUCTION

By JOHN LORD, D.D., LL.D.,

AUTHOR OF "BEACON LIGHTS OF HISTORY," ETC.

VOL. II.



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CHAPTER XLII.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION

Condition of the Country.—Erskine's Negotiation.—Depredations upon American Commerce.—Bonaparte's Rambouillet Decree.—Affair of the Little Belt.—The Census.—Indian Troubles.—Tecumseh and the Prophet.—Battle of Tippecanoe.—The two Parties.—The Twelfth Congress.—Henry Clay.—John C. Calhoun.—Threatening Aspect of Foreign Relations.—John Randolph.—Debates in Congress.—Another Embargo.—War declared against Great Britain.—Opposition to the War.—Riots at Baltimore.—Operations in the North-west.—Surrender of Hull.—Impressment of American Seamen.—Failures to invade Canada.

THE incoming administration was virtually pledged to continue the foreign policy of its predecessor, though that policy had not yet accomplished what its sanguine friends anticipated. The prediction of the Federalists—the conservative party of those days—that such measures would lead to a war with England, seemed to be near its fulfilment. The prospect was gloomy indeed. The nation was totally unprepared for such an event. Neither army nor navy to command respect ; no munitions of war worthy the name ; the defences of the seaboard almost worthless ; the revenue, owing to the embargo and non-intercourse acts, much diminished and diminishing more and more. The President and his cabinet desired to relieve the country of these pressing evils.

To accomplish this end, negotiations were commenced with Erskine, the resident British Minister. The youthful Erskine was a generous and noble-hearted man ; a

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CHAP. warm friend of the United States, unused to the tricks of
 XLII. diplomacy, he really wished to act generously for the in-
 1809. terests of both nations, and not selfishly for his own. He
 knew that Britain would derive great advantage from the
 renewal of trade with the United States, and hoped that
 the latter might be induced to take sides in the present
 struggle against France.

In accordance with the spirit of certain instructions, Erskine thought himself authorized to offer "a suitable provision for the widows and orphans of those who were killed on board the Chesapeake," and to announce the conditional repeal of the Orders in Council as far as they applied to the commerce of the United States. This repeal was to take place on the tenth of the following June.

1810. The President, on this assurance, issued a proclamation,
 giving permission for a renewal of commercial intercourse
 April. with Great Britain. The news was hailed with joy
 throughout the land. In a few weeks more than a thou-
 sand ships, laden with American produce, were on their
 way to foreign markets. This gleam of sunshine was soon
 obscured. Four months after the President issued another
 Aug. proclamation ; he now recalled the previous one, and again
 established non-intercourse between the two countries.

The British ministry had disavowed the provisional arrangement made by Erskine, giving as one reason that he had gone beyond his instructions. In the communication accepting Erskine's offer to provide for the sufferers in the Chesapeake affair, the provision was spoken of as an "act of justice comporting with what was due from his Britannic majesty to his own honor." This uncourteous remark gave offence, and furnished another pretext for breaking off the negotiation.

The failure of this arrangement, which had promised so much, greatly mortified the President and his cabinet, and as greatly wounded the self-respect of the nation. In consequence of this feeling, Jackson, the special envoy,

sent soon after by England, was not very graciously received. Negotiations were, however, commenced with him, but after exchanging angry notes for some months, all diplomatic intercourse was suspended between the two countries.

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American commerce had now less protection than ever. In the desperate conflict going on in Europe it was impossible to obtain redress from any of the belligerents. The ocean swarmed with French and English cruisers, while Danish privateers infested the northern seas. They all enjoyed a rich harvest in plundering American merchantmen, under the convenient pretence that they carried goods contraband of war. Great numbers of ships thus pillaged were burned at sea to destroy all traces of the robbery. Willing to trust to their own genius to escape capture, the American merchants asked permission to arm their ships in self-defence. Congress denied the request, on the ground that such a state of affairs would be war! The people, however, thought there was little to choose between actual war and a system of active legalized piracy. Even the planters and farmers, finding on their hands a vast amount of produce, for which a market was denied, were now inclined to strengthen the navy, that it might protect commerce, or if necessary make an irruption into Canada, and by that means compel Great Britain to repeal her odious decrees.

France in the mean time was committing greater outrages on American commerce than even England. Bonaparte issued a decree, the Rambouillet, by which any American vessel that entered a French port or a port of any country under French control, was declared liable to confiscation. It shows the deliberate design of this piratical decree, that it was not promulgated till six weeks after its date. The first intimation American merchants received of its existence, was the seizure of one hundred and thirty-two of their ships, in French ports. These

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23.

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were soon after sold with their cargoes, and the money, amounting to eight millions of dollars, placed in the French treasury. Expostulations against such high-handed measures were treated with contempt and insult. The French minister of foreign affairs even charged the United States "with a want of honor, energy, and just political views," in not defending themselves. Bonaparte's great object was to drive them into a war with England, and thus exclude from her American produce. With this intention he pretended he would revoke the Berlin and Milan decrees, on condition the United States would make their rights respected, or in other words, go to war with England. At this time the only port in Europe really open to American commerce was that of Archangel in Russia. There American ships, after running the gauntlet between French and Danish cruisers, landed their cargoes of merchandise, which were thence smuggled into France and Germany.

Ere long Bonaparte's want of money mastered his hatred of England, and he unblushingly became the violator of his own decrees, and sold to the Americans, at enormous prices, licenses which gave them permission to introduce their products into French ports.

None felt the national insult given in the Chesapeake affair so deeply as the naval officers. They were anxiously watching for an opportunity to retaliate.

The frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, was cruising off the capes of Delaware, when a strange sloop-of-war gave chase, but when within a few miles, her signals not being answered, she stood to the southward. The *President* now in turn gave chase, and in the twilight of the evening came within hailing distance. Rodgers hailed, but was answered by the same question ; another hail was given with a similar result. The stranger fired a gun, which was replied to by one from the *President*. These were

succeeded by broadsides from both vessels. The action lasted about twenty minutes, when the stranger was completely disabled. Rodgers hailed again, and now was answered that the vessel was his Majesty's sloop-of-war Little Belt. The disparity in the injury done to the respective vessels was quite remarkable. The Little Belt had more than thirty of her crew killed and wounded, while the President was scarcely injured, and had only one person slightly wounded. The affair created much excitement in both nations, and served to increase that alienation of feeling which had been so long in existence. The statements of the commanding officers differed very much as to the commencement of the encounter, but as each government accepted the testimony of its own officers, the matter was permitted to drop.

The census just taken, showed the following result:—the ratio of representation was fixed at thirty-five thousand :

Free Whites.	Slaves.	All others.	Totals.	Reps.
5,862,093.	1,191,364.	186,446.	7,239,903.	182.

Events of serious interest were occurring on the western frontier. Numbers of Indian tribes from time to time had ceded their lands and moved farther west. But the insatiable white man still pressed on ; his cultivated fields still encroached upon the Indian's hunting-grounds, and game was fast disappearing. When is this grasping at land to end ? asked the savages of each other. Two brothers, twins, of the Shawnee tribe, resolved to free their brethren from the aggressions of the settlers. Their plans were well laid, and showed an intimate knowledge of the secret of influence. The one, Tecumseh, was to play the warrior's part, the other Elskwatawa, more commonly known as the Prophet, appealed to their superstitions ; he professed to be a wonderful medicine-man, and in communication with the Great Spirit.

Tecumseh travelled from tribe to tribe, all along the

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frontiers, from north of the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, and by his eloquence endeavored to unite them in a universal conspiracy against the common enemy. He knew the attempt to expel the invaders would be vain, but he hoped his people would unite as one man, and refuse to sell them any more of their lands. To accomplish their purpose the Indians must be independent; they must dispense with the few comforts they received from the white man, and they must spurn the religion which missionaries had been laboring to teach them. The Prophet fulfilled his part; he awed his simple auditors with imposing powwows; the Great Spirit had given him marvellous powers. He could at a word make pumpkins, as large as wigwams, spring out of the earth; or ears of corn, each large enough to feed a dozen men; he appealed to their reverence for the customs of their ancestors, and sneered at their degradation in being the slave of the white man's whiskey, or fire-water, as he significantly called it. He must be obeyed—they must throw aside the blanket and dress in skins; instead of the gun they must use the ancient bow and arrow; and the iron tomahawk must give place to the stone hatchet of their fathers; but above all, they must discard the religion of the white man; it was the rejection of their ancient religion, which made the Great Spirit so angry.

Alarm spread along the frontier settlements. The Miamis had sold a portion of their lands on both sides of the Wabash. Tecumseh was absent at the time, but protested afterward, contending that as all the lands belonged equally to all the Indians, no tribe had a right to sell a portion of them without the consent of the others.

General William Henry Harrison, the Governor of the Territory of Indiana, held a conference with Tecumseh, who at the time professed to be friendly, but his conduct afterward excited suspicion. Lest the Indians should unexpectedly commence hostilities, Harrison marched to

the town lately established by the Prophet, at the junction of the Wabash and Tippecanoe rivers. Messengers sent by the Prophet met the army a few miles from the town. Though Indians were hovering around the army on its march, yet efforts to hold a conference with them had thus far been unsuccessful. The messengers expressed great surprise that the Americans should approach their town, since the Prophet and his people were very desirous of peace. Harrison assured them that he had no intention to engage in hostilities, unless they themselves should attack him, and he invited the Prophet and his chiefs to an interview the next day. The messengers departed apparently pleased with the proposal, and on their part promised full compliance.

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Knowing the Indian character, Harrison suspected treachery, and encamped with great caution; his men, placed in a hollow square, slept upon their arms. The next morning, about four o'clock, the Indians suddenly attacked the camp, but failed to break the line. For three hours the contest was very severe. The Indians would advance with great impetuosity, and then retreat to renew the effort. These movements were regulated by signals given by rattling deers' hoofs. When daylight appeared, the mounted men charged, and the savages fled in great haste. The next day the Prophet's town was found to be deserted. Tecumseh himself was not present at the battle of Tippecanoe.

Nov.
7.

The belligerents of Europe still continued their aggressions upon American commerce. Recent intelligence from France indicated but little prospect of obtaining redress for present grievances, while the impressment question made the affairs with Great Britain still more complicated. Differences of opinion prevailed, as to the best means of obtaining justice for these foreign aggressions. The people of New England, and the merchants of the

CHAF. commercial cities and seaports of the other States, felt
 XLII. especially aggrieved by the policy of the national govern-
 1811. ment. The embargo and non-importation acts had ruined
 their commerce, and brought distress upon tens of thou-
 sands. Upon them, almost alone, had fallen the evils
 resulting from these political experiments. The people
 of the West, and of the interior of the Atlantic States,
 were in favor of hostilities ; their territory would be exempt
 from invasion, and they had no seaport towns to suffer
 from bombardment. Thus there were really two parties,
 the one in favor of obtaining redress by peaceful measures,
 the other by resorting to war.

In view of these threatening indications, the Presi-
 dent, by proclamation, convened the twelfth Congress a
 month earlier than the usual time of meeting. This
 Nov. Congress and the one succeeding are no less remarkable
 4. for the measures they introduced than for the unusual
 number of their members, who afterward filled a large
 space in the history of the country. It was a transition
 period. The patriots of the revolution, now venerable
 with age, were fast passing away from the councils of the
 nation, while their places were filled by more youthful
 members. Heretofore the leaders in Congress had been
 moderate in their measures, and were unwilling, unless
 for the best of reasons, to plunge the nation into a war.

As a member of the House of Representatives, appeared
 Henry Clay, of Kentucky. The son of a Baptist clergy-
 man of Virginia, he had been left at an early age a penni-
 less orphan. Struggling through many trials, his native
 eloquence had now placed him in the foremost rank of his
 country's orators. Ardent and generous, bland and yet
 imperious, as captivating in social life as he was frank in
 his public acts, he was destined to wield a mighty in-
 fluence in the councils of the nation. John C. Calhoun,
 of South Carolina, was also a member ; the close student
 and ardent theorist, dealing in first principles, he was

logical and eloquent. His style more suited to forensic debates than to popular assemblies.

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1811

The President, in his message, directed the attention of Congress to the threatening aspect of Foreign Relations. This led to animated debates, in which the policy of peace or war ; the defences of the country ; the preliminary measures in case of a declaration of hostilities, came up for discussion. The speeches of the members may be taken as the exponents of the opinions of their constituents. The people of the West were especially clamorous for war. The recent outbreak of the Indians, on the western frontiers, was confidently attributed to the influence of British emissaries. This charge, though based upon surmises, served to increase the prejudice against England, and gave renewed life to the hatred of her produced by the Revolution.

Finally, the Committee of Foreign Relations, in their report to the House, recommended, in the words of the President, "That the United States be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis ; that an additional force of ten thousand regulars be raised ; that the President be authorized to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers ; and also that the vessels of the navy worthy of repair be fitted up and put in commission." Two separate resolutions were offered ; one authorized the merchants to arm in self-defence, and the other, as a preliminary to war, to lay an embargo for ninety days. After an animated discussion these were both rejected.

Dec.

Felix Grundy, of Tennessee, avowed that the report of the Committee was designed to prepare the public mind for war. "We are pledged," said he, "to France to continue our restrictions against Great Britain ; we have tied the Gordian knot ; we cannot untie it ; we can cut it with the sword." "Though our restrictive system operates unequally, we must maintain it." He also advc-

CHAP. cated the invasion and conquest of Canada, and the re-
 XI.II. ception of her inhabitants as members of the confederacy,
 ----- in order to preserve the equilibrium of the government.
 1811. "When Louisiana," said he, "will be fully peopled, the
 Dec. Northern States will lose their power ; they will be at the
 discretion of others ; they can be depressed at pleasure."
 Therefore he was not only in favor of admitting Canada,
 but also Florida.

John Randolph, of Virginia, in that sarcastic manner peculiar to himself, characterized the embargo and non-importation acts as most impolitic and ruinous measures—they had "knocked down the price of cotton to seven cents and tobacco to nothing," while they had increased the price of every article of first necessity three or four hundred per cent. This is the condition into which we have brought ourselves by our want of wisdom. But is war the true remedy ; who will profit by it ? Speculators, commissioners and contractors. Who must suffer by it ? The people. It is their blood, their taxes, that must flow to support it. Will you plunge the nation into war, because you have passed a foolish and ruinous law, and are ashamed to repeal it ?

He indignantly repelled the charge of British attachment made against those who were not willing to rush into war with England. "Strange," said he, "that we have no objection to any other people or government, civilized or savage ; we find no difficulty in maintaining relations of peace and amity with the Autocrat of all the Russias ; with the Dey of Algiers and his divan of pirates, or Little Turtle of the Miamis, barbarians and savages, Turks and infidels of every clime and color, with them we can trade and treat. But name England, and all our antipathies are up in arms against her ; against those whose blood runs in our veins, in common with whom we claim Shakspeare and Milton, Newton and Locke, Sidney and Chatham, as brethren. Her form of

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government, the freest on earth, except our own, and from which every valuable principle of our institutions has been borrowed. There are honest prejudices growing out of the Revolution. But by whom had they been suppressed when they ran counter to the interests of his country? By Washington. By whom are they most keenly felt? By those who have fled to this abused country since the breaking out of the French revolution, and who have set themselves up as political teachers." This was in allusion to the editors of nearly all the papers in favor of war, who were foreigners—"these are the patriots who scruple not to brand with the epithet of Tory, those men by whose blood your liberties have been cemented."

Henry Clay urged, in reply, that the only means left to obtain the recognition of our national rights was to fight for them. A war would produce the repeal of the Orders in Council, and give us commerce and character; the nation by this mongrel peace would not only lose its commerce, but its honor. If we yield one point, presently another will be demanded; our only safety is to defend the nation's rights;—even if the seaboard should be subdued, yet the energy of the West would save the liberties of the country. Shall we bear the cuffs and scoffs of British arrogance, because we fear French subjugation? Who ever learned, in the school of base submission, the lessons of noble freedom, and courage, and independence!"

Sept
5

On the other side of the House, it was admitted that causes for war existed, but were they sufficient to justify the government of the United States in rushing unprepared into a contest with the most powerful nation on earth? This was the question to be decided by Congress. "What are we to gain by war?" asked Sheffey of Virginia. "Shall we throw away a trade of thirty-two millions with Great Britain for two with France? Peace is our policy; we are now the most prosperous and happy people on earth. This is more to us, than all the Orders

CHAP. XLII. in Council or the trade with France. We cannot bring
 1811. Great Britain to terms by embargo and non-importation acts ; neither can we starve the world by refusing to export our surplus grain. Our revenue is low enough now, in time of war it will be almost nothing. We should be willing to fight for the rights of impressed native-born Americans, but not for the right to harbor deserters from the British service.”—“Is this embargo a preparation for war ? ” asked Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts. “We have no information that England intends war. It is her policy to continue commerce with us, not to destroy it. But we are told that the object is to protect our merchants. Heaven help them from embargo protection ! The merchants have petitioned—not for embargo—not for commercial embarrassment and annihilation—but for protection.”

1812. While these debates were in progress in the House, the same general subject was under discussion in the Senate. In both Houses an unusual number of southern members were now in favor of making the navy more efficient. It was urged that the only way to bring Great Britain to terms was by harassing her commerce on the ocean. To do this a fleet was needed. “Create a fleet of thirty frigates,” said Lloyd, of Massachusetts, “and New England alone will officer it in five weeks.” “How can we contend with the most colossal power the world ever saw, except by our navy, scattered over the ocean, requiring ten times as many British vessels to watch them ? Adopt this policy, and soon the English people would ask their government, Why this war upon our trade ? why violate the rights of Americans ?¹ For whose benefit is this war ? Soon you will force the people of the United States to become their

¹ “They (the Orders in Council) were grievously unjust to neutrals, and it is now (1850) generally allowed that they were contrary to the law of nations, and to our own municipal laws.”—Lord Chief Justice Campbell, in his *Lives of the Chancellors*, vol vii. p. 218.

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1812

own manufacturers ; you will stimulate them to become a naval power, which one day may dispute with you the supremacy of the ocean." "In a short time the English government would be compelled to repeal its odious decrees." "To protect commerce is to aid agriculture, to benefit the northern as well as the middle and southern States. Moreover, it is essential to the preservation of the Union ; the commercial States will not endure that their rights should be systematically trampled upon from year to year, and they denied the defence which the God of nature has given them."

The discussions of these five months had a great influence upon the public mind. Though unwilling to use harsher measures than to authorize the merchants to defend themselves by arming their ships, the President sent a special message to Congress recommending an embargo for sixty days. The bill was amended by substituting ninety for sixty, in which form it passed, debate being cut short by the rule of the previous question.

April
4.

One month and a half later, intelligence from France made known that Bonaparte, in violation of his word, had declared the obnoxious decrees of Berlin and Milan henceforth the settled policy of the Empire. Thus the Emperor had entrapped the President. But England was as much in the wrong as France, and if so, why not declare war against both ?—It was openly avowed in Parliament that the offensive decrees and blockades must be maintained, or France could receive raw material from the United States ; continue her manufactures, and thus obtain the means to carry on the war. Great Britain also wished to secure for her own people the monopoly of commerce, as well as that of manufacturing for the world.

June

The President finally sent another message to Congress, in which he recapitulated the wrongs inflicted by England in her impressments and violations of the rights of neutrals. This was plainly a war message, and in accordance with

CHAP. that view, a bill was drawn up declaring war against
XLII. Great Britain. It was passed by a strictly party vote :—
1812. in the House 79 to 49, in the Senate 19 to 13.

June
18.

The people were far from being unanimous in their approbation of the declaration of war. The minority of the Lower House of Congress published an address to their constituents, in which the views of those opposed to the war found expression. After a review of the controversy between the United States and the belligerents, they contend there was equal cause for hostilities against both England and France ; that it was unreasonable to expect the full recognition of neutrals' rights while the desperate conflict in Europe was in progress ; that conflict would soon end, and then the cause for war on our part would be removed. The Address says, " The effect of the British orders of blockade, is to deprive us of the commerce of France and her dependencies, while they leave open to us the commerce of all the rest of the world ; the former worth yearly about six millions and a half, and the latter worth thirty-eight millions. Shall the latter be sacrificed for the former ? A nation like the United States, happy in its great local relations ; removed from that bloody theatre of Europe, with a maritime border opening vast fields of enterprise ; with territorial possessions exceeding every real want ; its firesides safe ; its altars undefiled ; from invasion nothing to fear ; from acquisition nothing to hope, how shall such a nation look to Heaven for its smiles, while throwing away as though they were worthless, all the blessings and joys which peace and such a distinguished lot include ? But how will war upon the land protect commerce ? How are our mariners to be benefited by a war which exposes those who are free, without promising release to those who are impressed ? But it is said that war is demanded by honor. If honor demands a war with England, what opiate lulls that honor to sleep over the wrongs done us by France ? "

Such was the diversity of opinion as to the expediency of engaging in war, especially when the country, in every respect, was so unprepared. The opponents of the measure were assailed as unpatriotic, which they retorted by charging the advocates of war with subserviency to the policy of France.

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It was easier for Congress to declare war, than to obtain the means to prosecute it. The treasury was almost empty, the non-importation acts, and embargoes, had nearly ruined the revenue ; the army was very limited in number, and very deficient in officers of experience ; while the navy was wanting in ships and munitions. Congress passed a bill to enlist twenty-five thousand men as regulars, and authorized the President to accept the services of fifty thousand volunteers.

In appointing officers for the army, recourse was had, almost exclusively, to those who had served in the Revolution ; but the most prominent of these had passed away, and the remainder, with but one or two exceptions, had been engaged in civil affairs for thirty years ; and men competent to drill the recruits were not to be found. To remedy this want, Congress, now for the first time, made provision for the constant and liberal instruction of two hundred and fifty cadets in the military art, by establishing professorships in the Academy at West Point. Here was another instance of the foresight of Washington. He had, during his administration, urged upon Congress to establish and maintain a school in which military tactics should be taught to officers, who in turn could easily drill the militia. The wise policy of the measure was amply shown in the rapidity with which the American volunteers were drilled and made efficient soldiers in the late Mexican war. But for the present the nation suffered severely from false economy in not founding the Academy when first proposed.

1846

The first exhibition of the war spirit and the party

CHAP. feeling which existed was an attempt to stifle the freedom of
XLII. the press. The editor of a paper in Baltimore, Alexander
1812. Hanson, a grandson of a president of the continental congress, had spoken in moderate terms in condemnation of the declaration of war. A few days after, the mob, headed by
June a Frenchman, destroyed his press and compelled him to
22. fly for his life. Receiving no protection in his rights, as the magistrates connived at the outrage, Hanson and some twenty others thought it their duty to vindicate the liberty of the press. Among this number was General Henry Lee,—the chivalric Light Horse Harry of the Revolution,—the intimate friend of Washington, his eulogist by appointment of Congress, afterward Governor of Virginia, and General Lingan, also a worthy officer of the Revolution. They determined to defend the office of the paper. The mob appeared and stoned the house; the magistrates meanwhile made no effort to quell the riot. Thus the rabble raged during the night; in their attempts to force their way into the house, one of the ringleaders was shot. General Lingan was killed outright, and some of the other defenders of the office were most shamefully mangled and abused. General Lee was maimed for life. The leaders of the riot were never punished, though afterwards brought to trial,—a mere farce,—the district attorney even expressing his regret that all the defenders of the office had not been killed.

General William Hull, who had served with some distinction in the Revolution, and now Governor of Michigan Territory, was appointed commander of the forces in that region. The Territory contained about five thousand inhabitants, mostly of French origin. He received orders to invade Canada, the ardent friends of the war complacently thinking the inhabitants of that British province would cheerfully put themselves under the protection of the stars and stripes. Hull, however, found himself in a short time surrounded by a superior force of British and In-

dians ; the enemy also held possession of Lake Erie, and had easy communication with the rest of Canada, while between Hull's army and the settlements, intervened a vast and unbroken forest of two hundred miles. He urged upon the government to secure the command of the Lake before any attempt should be made at invasion, and also to furnish him not less than three thousand well provisioned troops. But he was told that he must content himself with two thousand men, while nothing could be done to secure the control of the Lake.

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1812.

When Hull arrived at DETROIT, then a village of some eight hundred inhabitants, he had but eighteen hundred men, of whom the greater part were militia ; there he received orders to invade Canada immediately. But by a strange blunder, the intelligence of the declaration of war, designed for Hull, and franked by the Secretary of the Treasury, fell into the hands of the British. They availed themselves of the information, and immediately seized Mackinaw ; the first intimation the garrison of that distant post received of the declaration of war. In a short time Hull himself was surrounded, and his communications cut off.

July
9.

The British general Proctor came up the Lake with reinforcements, whilst the British Fur Company enlisted their employees and excited the Indians. To open a road and obtain supplies, Hull sent out a detachment, but it fell into an ambuscade and was defeated. He now fortified himself, and to open communications to the river Raisin, sent another detachment under Colonels McArthur and Cass ; they became bewildered in a swamp, and were forced to find their way back to the camp.

Aug
14.

Presently General Brock, governor of Lower Canada, arrived at Malden with more reinforcements. He passed over the river and summoned Hull to surrender, who refused, and an attack was made upon his position, both from the British vessels and batteries. Brock landed and approached with seven hundred and fifty regulars, and as

CHAP. many Indians. Hull had but eight hundred men, and
XLII. threatened with destruction, as he imagined, by an over-
1812. whelming force, he surrendered his army and all Michigan
Aug. at the same time.
16.

Great indignation was expressed at this failure. The difficulties of Hull's position were very great, and perhaps, while no one doubted his personal courage, he may have wanted that sternness of soul so necessary to a successful commander. Those in authority screened themselves, by making the unfortunate general the scape-goat for their blunders, in sending him with a force and means so inadequate. When brought to trial, two years afterward, he urged in defence, that all the inhabitants of the territory would have been exposed to certain massacre had he attempted further resistance. The court, however, found him guilty of cowardice, and sentenced him to be shot ; but in consideration of his revolutionary services, the President granted him a pardon. His papers, since published, have revealed the insurmountable difficulties that surrounded him.

It is remarkable that one of the causes of the war, was removed within four days after its declaration. France unconditionally repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees, then Great Britain repealed her Orders in Council, which had been based on the French decrees. The impressment question still remained unsettled. Nearly six thousand cases of alleged impressment were on record in the State Department at Washington. It was admitted on the floor of the House of Commons, that there were probably sixteen hundred native-born Americans held in bondage in the British navy. Of these several hundred had already been liberated, and a willingness was expressed to discharge the remainder, as soon as their nationality was fully known. But the British naval officers complained that the plea of American citizenship was very much abused ; by forged documents, or by certificates, originally

genuine, but transferred from one seaman to another as occasion required. The English government, moreover, was so CHAP. XLII.
trammelled by forms that very seldom could the impressed 1812
sailor obtain redress ; all such cases must be brought before the Court of Admiralty in London, to reach which was almost impossible.

This, after all, was to be a war to protect personal freedom ; to obtain security from the visits to our ships of British press-gangs, led by insolent officers, and as such took hold of the sympathies of the American people. But Britain said, pass a law prohibiting our seamen from enlisting in your service, and we will not search your ships. The reply was, the flag of the United States must shield those seeking its protection. This sentiment appeared to England very like an effort to seduce her seamen from their allegiance.

When intelligence of the declaration of war reached England, the government acted generously in relation to the American vessels in its ports. Instead of being confiscated as in France, these ships were permitted six weeks to load and unload, and in addition were furnished with protections against capture by English cruisers on their way home. Yet these very vessels and their cargoes were liable to confiscation, when they should arrive in their own land, and that by a law of Congress !

Aug

As one of the causes of the war had been removed, Foster, the British Minister at Washington, proposed a cessation of hostilities until another effort should be made to arrange the impressment question. This proposal was not accepted by the American government. Not until all hope of reconciliation was passed, did the English authorities issue letters of marque and reprisal against American commerce ; and they still continued to grant licenses and protection to American vessels carrying flour to Spain for the use of the British armies in that country.

Hull's surrender threw a shadow over the prospect of

CHAP. conquering Canada. Strenuous efforts were made to in-
 XLII. crease the army on the frontiers of New York. Major
 1812. General Dearborn, who, when a youth, had served in the
 Revolution, and had been Secretary of War, under Jefferson,
 had under his command, in the vicinity of Lake Cham-
 plain, five thousand troops, three thousand of whom were
 regulars; and two thousand militia were stationed at
 different points on the St. Lawrence, east of Sackett's
 Harbor, while another army, miscellaneous in character,
 being composed of regulars, volunteers and militia, was
 stationed at different points from the village of Buffalo to
 Fort Niagara. The latter troops were under the com-
 mand of General Van Rensselaer.

To insure success the Americans must have the con-
 trol of the Lakes Erie and Ontario; on the latter they
 had already a little sloop-of-war, of sixteen guns, and
 manned by a regular crew. Captain Chauncey, of the
 Sept. navy yard at New York, was appointed to the command
 of the Lakes. He purchased some merchant vessels, and
 fitted them out with guns and other equipments, brought
 from Albany, at an immense amount of labor. He soon
 however swept the Lake of British ships, which took
 refuge in Kingston harbor; the Frontenac of the times of
 French rule in that quarter. Lieutenant Elliot, in the
 mean time, was sent to equip a fleet on Lake Erie. By
 a daring exploit he cut out from under the guns of Fort
 Erie, two British armed vessels, which had just come
 Oct. 9. down the Lake from Detroit.

The invasion of Canada commenced by an attempt to
 obtain possession of Queenstown, on Niagara river. Owing
 to a deficiency of boats, only about six hundred men,
 partly regulars and partly militia, passed over. Colonel
 S. Van Rensselaer, who commanded the militia, became
 separated from his men, and Colonel Christie, who com-
 manded the regulars, failed on account of the rapidity of
 the current to reach the shore. Those who landed were

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immediately attacked with great vigor. Rensselaer soon fell, wounded, but he ordered Captains Ogilvie and Wool to storm the battery, which they did in fine style, driving the British into a strong stone house, from which they could not be dislodged. General Brock, the same to whom Hull surrendered a few months before, was in command. Suddenly he headed a sortie from this house, which was promptly repulsed, and he himself slain.

During this time, a space of five or six hours, the Americans were striving to pass the river, but only five or six hundred succeeded. Suddenly a band of Indians emerged from the woods, and joined in the fray; these were soon put to flight by Lieutenant Winfield Scott, who, with a company of regulars, volunteered for the purpose. The want of boats, and the want of system, had prevented a suitable number of Americans from passing over. In the mean while General Sheafe was advancing from Fort George, with reinforcements for the British. This intelligence, together with the sight of the wounded, who were brought in boats to the American side, somewhat cooled the ardor of the militia, and they refused to pass the river to aid their countrymen. Their wits were also sharpened, and they suddenly discovered that their commander had no *constitutional* authority to lead them into Canada. The result was, that those who had gone over, about one thousand in number, were compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. General Van Rensselaer, mortified at the want of spirit manifested on the occasion, resigned his command in disgust.

Inefficiency reigned in triumph all along the frontier. An expedition against Detroit, under the command of Harrison, was abandoned for want of means. The volunteers from Kentucky, as well as others, became mutinous and refused to advance. One failure followed another in rapid succession. The officers were quarrelling among

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 1812. themselves, charging each other with cowardice and fighting bloodless duels, while the soldiers deserted in bands, and those who remained were insubordinate. These failures were unsparingly ridiculed in the newspapers opposed to the war.

1807. Soon after the establishment of the Government the religious portion of the people began to inquire as to their duty in sending the Gospel to the heathen of other lands. Samuel J. Mills and some other students of Williams College consecrated themselves to the work of foreign missions. A monument—a marble shaft surmounted by a globe—in Mills Park, just outside the village, marks the spot where these students met behind a haystack to confer with each other and consecrate themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen. The result was the formation of the American Board of Missions, which has had a remarkable success in extending the knowledge of the Gospel and introducing a Christian civilization in remote heathen lands. This Society was specially patronized by the Congregationalists and Presbyterians ; the latter, after twenty-one years of co-operation, withdrew and formed the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Meanwhile other denominations entered with zeal upon the work—the Baptists (1814), the Methodist Episcopal (1819), Reformed Dutch Church (1832), Protestant Episcopal (1835), and afterward others ; in all fifteen societies were formed. Under the control of these societies the missionaries and native teachers whom they have trained now number many thousands. The exertions of these devoted men have been crowned with remarkable success ; they have displayed much practical wisdom in the management of the missions, and have translated the Scriptures into the languages of the various people with whom they labored. For these evidences of their scholarship and their enlightened zeal they have oftentimes received the commendations and thanks of European educated men and statesmen.

CHAPTER XLIII.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The Vessels of the Navy.—The chase of the Constitution.—Capture of the Alert.—The Guerrière.—Incidents.—The Macedonian.—The Frolic.—The Java.—The effects of these Naval Conflicts in the United States and England.—Plan of Operations.—Harrison advances on Detroit.—General Winchester a Prisoner; Indian Barbarities.—The Kentuckians fall into an Ambuscade.—Repulse at Fort Stephenson.—The loss of the Chesapeake.—Perry's Victory.—Battle of the Thames.—Andrew Jackson.—Leads an Expedition; its Termination.—York captured; Death of General Pike.—Wilkinson transferred to the North.—Another attempt to conquer Canada.—Fort George destroyed; Newark burned.—The severe Retaliation.—The American Coast blockaded.—Ravages on the Shores of Chesapeake Bay.—Indian War in the South.—Jackson and others in the Field.—Battle at the Great Horse Shoe.—Captain Porter's Cruise.

WHILE the disasters recorded in the last chapter were in progress, the despised little navy had won laurels, by a series of victories as unexpected as they were glorious. When the war commenced, the whole navy of the United States in commission, consisted of only three first class frigates; the President, the Constitution, and the United States; of the second class two, the Congress and the Essex; the Wasp and Hornet, sloops-of-war; and the brigs Argus, Syren, Nautilus, Enterprise, and Vixen. The second class frigates Chesapeake, Constellation, and John Adams, were undergoing repairs. The fleet was ordered to assemble at New York to be in readiness to defend harbors, and not to venture to sea, lest it should

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1812. fall in the hands of the enemy ; a result which had been predicted again and again. Owing to the urgent remonstrances of Captains Stewart and Bainbridge, the intention of thus withdrawing the navy was abandoned. Within a few hours after the declaration of war was known in New York, a portion of the fleet was passing out to sea, in search of the enemy. This prompt movement was made for the double purpose of avoiding the orders, which the officers suspected were on the way from Washington, to detain them in the harbor, and to make a dash at the Jamaica fleet, said to be passing under convoy off the coast. When two days out, they chased and exchanged shots with the British frigate *Belvidera*, which, however, escaped and carried the news of the commencement of hostilities to Halifax. The Americans continued the pursuit of the Jamaica fleet, even to the entrance of the British Channel, but without overtaking it.

July. Meanwhile a British squadron issued from Halifax, to cruise off the port of New York. The *Constitution*, better known as *Old Ironsides*, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, in endeavoring to enter that port fell in with this fleet, and was chased by all its vessels for four days—the most remarkable chase on record. The unexampled skill with which she was managed, elicited universal admiration. Every nautical device was exhausted ; such as during a calm carrying out anchors and dropping them, and then pulling the ship up ; in the mean while, when opportunity served, exchanging shots with her adversaries. Finally she escaped into Boston. Orders from Washington were sent to Captain Hull to remain there ; but he anticipated them, and put to sea before they arrived.

The *Essex* was the first to capture a prize—a transport filled with soldiers—and shortly after, the British sloop-of-war *Alert*. The latter mistook the *Essex* for a merchantman, and came on expecting an easy victory, but

found herself so severely handled, that in a few minutes she was fain to strike her colors. CHAP.
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Off the mouth of the St. Lawrence, Captain Hull fell in with the British frigate *Guerrière*, one of the fleet which had recently chased him. The *Guerrière* was on the look-out for "Yankee craft;" on one of her flags was the inscription, Not the Little Belt. Courting the combat, she shortened sail, and at long range opened upon the approaching *Constitution*; the latter did not fire a gun, but manœuvred to obtain a desirable position. Thus an hour and a half was consumed. When the *Constitution* secured her position, she poured in her broadsides with such rapidity and effect, that the enemy struck his colors in thirty minutes. So completely was the *Guerrière* cut to pieces, that it was impossible to bring her into port, and Hull ordered her to be burned. The *Guerrière* had seventy-nine killed and wounded, while the *Constitution* had only seven, and was ready for action the next day. In connection with this encounter may be related two incidents, which show the spirit on board the respective ships. When the *Constitution* came within cannon-shot, the opening fire from the *Guerrière* killed two men. The men were impatient to avenge their companions, and Lieutenant Morris came on deck, and asked, "Can we return the fire, sir?" "No, sir," calmly replied Hull. Soon after, Morris came again, and reported that another man was slain, and asked again, "Shall we return the fire?" "No, sir," was still the reply. For the third time, Morris soon appeared: "Can we fire *now*?" Hull, pausing a moment to survey the position of the ships, replied, "Yes, sir, you may *fire* now." The order was promptly obeyed, and Hull, with his eye intently fixed upon the enemy, exclaimed, when he saw the effect, "That ship is ours!"

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On board the *Guerrière* were ten impressed Americans. They refused to fight against their countrymen, and were ordered below. One of them was afterward called upon

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 1812. deck, and asked by Captain Dacres if he knew the character of the approaching ship. He answered she was a frigate. As she drew nearer, and merely manœuvred, and made no reply with her guns, Dacres, somewhat puzzled, inquired again, "What does she mean? Do you think she is going to strike without firing a gun?" "I *guess* not, sir," replied the American; "she will get the position she wants, and you will then learn her intentions; with your permission, sir, I will step below."

Oct. 23. The United States, Captain Decatur, when cruising off the Azores, gave chase to a British frigate, which proved to be the Macedonian. A running fight commenced, which terminated by the Macedonian striking her colors, after losing one hundred out of her three hundred men, while the United States lost only five men and seven wounded. The other ships made several prizes on their cruise. The Argus escaped by superior seamanship, after being chased three days by six vessels, and took and manned a prize during the chase. The Wasp, Captain Jones, met the British brig Frolic, acting as a convoy for six merchantmen; to protect them she shortened sail and offered battle. The Wasp watched her opportunity, raked her antagonist, and then immediately boarded. The Oct. 18. boarders found the deck of the Frolic covered with the slain, and only one man unhurt, who was calmly standing at the wheel, and one or two wounded officers, who threw down their swords. Not twenty of the crew were unhurt. The Wasp had only five killed and as many wounded. But before she could make sail, the Poictiers seventy-four came up, and took both vessels.

Hull resigned the command of the Constitution, and Bainbridge was appointed in his place. Off the coast of Brazil the Constitution gave chase to a British frigate, the Java. The fight began at the distance of a mile, and was continued with great spirit, each manœuvring to get the advantage. At length they approached so closely as

to fight yard-arm and yard-arm. The Java's masts were shot away, and her fire silenced. The Constitution drew off to repair her rigging, and then approached to renew the conflict, which the Java prevented by striking her flag. Nearly half of her men, numbering four hundred, were killed or wounded, while the Constitution had only nine killed and twenty-five wounded; among the latter was her commander. There being no friendly port in that part of the world to which he could take his prize, Bainbridge ordered her to be set on fire and blown up.

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It is difficult to conceive the exultation with which these victories were hailed in the United States. The very great disparity in the losses sustained by the respective combatants had excited surprise in both nations. The English loss of men in killed and wounded, compared with that of the Americans, was as eight to one. There could be no doubt but the ships of the latter had been better managed and better fought. The English people, we learn from the newspapers of the day, were deeply mortified at the loss of their frigates. One of the papers asked, "Shall England, the mistress of the seas and dictator of the maritime law of nations, be driven from her proud eminence by a piece of striped bunting flying at the mast-heads of a few fir-built frigates, manned by a handful of bastards and outlaws?" Some were thus abusive, but others were more respectful, and even found consolation in the fact that the Americans were the descendants of Englishmen. Says the London Times: "We witnessed the gloom which that event (the capture of the *Guerrière*) cast over high and honorable minds; it is not merely that an English frigate has been taken after a brave resistance, but it has been by a new enemy." And apprehensions were expressed that their maritime superiority was about to be challenged, if not taken away, by this new rival, which had so suddenly sprung into existence. "The mourning for this last most affecting event, (the capture

CHAP. of the Java,) can never be laid aside till the honor
 XLIII. of the British flag shall be redeemed, by establishing
 1813. the same triumphant superiority over the Americans
 that we have heretofore had over all the nations that tra-
 verse the seas. Five hundred British vessels and three
 frigates have been captured in seven months by the
 Americans. Can the English people hear this unmoved ?
 Down to this moment not an American frigate has struck
 her flag. They insult and laugh at us ; they leave their
 ports when they please ; and return when it suits their
 convenience ; they traverse the Atlantic ; they beset the
 West India Islands ; they advance to the very chops or
 the Channel ; they parade along the coast of South
 America ; nothing chases, nothing intercepts, nothing
 engages them, but yields to them a triumph."

To account for these unexampled victories, some said
 the American frigates were Seventy-fours in disguise ;
 others that their guns were heavier than those of their op-
 ponents. The latter supposition may have been true to
 some extent. But national self-complacency found more
 consolation in the conjecture, that the spirit of the Ameri-
 can navy ought to be imputed to the few runaway British
 sailors enlisted in it !

The American privateers maintained the honor of the
 nation as much as the regular navy. Much more would
 have been accomplished, but the majority of the mer-
 chants were loth to send privateers to prey upon the prop-
 erty of their commercial friends and correspondents. As
 it was, more than three hundred prizes were taken, three
 thousand prisoners, and a vast amount of merchandise

Changes were made in the President's cabinet. Gen-
 eral John Armstrong—the author of the famous Anony-
 mous Address, at the close of the Revolution—was ap-
 pointed Secretary of War in place of William Eustis, of
 Massachusetts, resigned. James Monroe still remained

at the head of the State Department, and Albert Gallatin at that of the Treasury, an office which he held under Jefferson.

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The surrender of Hull aroused the warlike spirit of the West, and volunteers presented themselves in great numbers. The Americans were divided into three armies. That of the west, at the head of Lake Erie, under General Harrison ; that of the centre, between Lakes Erie and Ontario, under General Dearborn, and that of the north in the vicinity of Lake Champlain, under General Wade Hampton. A similar arrangement was made by the British. Sir George Prevost was in chief command of the forces in Canada, General Proctor commanded the troops stationed near Detroit, and General Sheafe those in the neighborhood of Montreal and the Sorel river.

To recover what Hull had lost, Harrison moved toward Detroit and Malden ; meantime General Winchester advanced with eight hundred volunteers, chiefly young men from Kentucky. That State swarmed with soldiers, drawn from every rank in society. As he drew near the Maumee Rapids, Winchester learned that a body of British and Indians was in possession of Frenchtown, on the river Raisin. He sent a detachment, which routed the enemy, and maintained its position until he himself came up. When General Proctor learned of the approach of Winchester, he hastened across the lake on the ice from Malden, with fifteen hundred British and Indians, to cut him off, before Harrison could give aid. The attack was made on the American camp before daylight. In the midst of the confusion Winchester was taken prisoner. Proctor promised him security for the safety of his men, and thus induced him to surrender them as prisoners. Fearing the approach of Harrison, Proctor retreated as rapidly as possible to Malden, and in violation of his pledges, he left the wounded Americans.

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The Indians turned back and murdered great numbers

CHAP. of them, and carried the remainder to Detroit ; for some
XLIII. of these they demanded enormous ransoms, and others
1818. they reserved for tortures. The conduct of Proctor, in
thus breaking his word, and violating the principles of
common humanity, excited against the enemy the bitterest
feelings of revenge. "Remember the Raisin !" became
the war-cry of the Kentuckians.

Harrison advanced to the rapids, and there established
a post, which in honor of the Governor of Ohio, he named
Fort Meigs. There he was besieged, in the course of a
few months, by a large force of British and their Indian
allies. Learning that General Green Clay, of Kentucky,
was descending the Maumee with twelve hundred men in
boats, Harrison sent orders for half the men to land and
seize the enemy's batteries on the north side of the river,
spike their guns, and then come to the Fort, whence a
sortie was to be made against the main batteries on the
south side. The first order was fulfilled, and the British
routed ; but instead of hastening to the Fort, the Ken-
tuckians became unmanageable, and pursued a few In-
dians, who led them into an ambuscade prepared by the
cunning Tecumseh. They were in turn routed by the
Indians and a detachment of British soldiers, and of the
Kentuckians only about one hundred and fifty escaped.
Nevertheless Proctor was alarmed ; the force of the Ameri-
cans was unknown, and as the Indians began to desert,
May. he commenced a hurried retreat across the lake to Malden.

Two months after, Proctor again appeared before Fort
Meigs, now under the command of Clay. Not able to
take it, and having learned that Fort Stephenson, on the
Sandusky, had a small garrison, Proctor left Tecumseh
with his Indians to besiege Fort Meigs, while he himself
went against Fort Stephenson. This fort had a garrison
of only one hundred and sixty young men, commanded
by Major George Croghan, a youth in his twenty-second
year. When summoned to surrender, he replied that he

should defend the fort till the last man was buried in its ruins. The siege commenced, and when a breach was made, the British regulars, at the word of their Colonel, who cried out, "Come on, give the Yankees no quarter," rushed to the assault. As they crowded into the ditch, the only cannon in the fort opened from a masked port hole. The gun was loaded with a double charge of musket balls; the effect was terrific, the enemy fled in confusion, and abandoned the siege. The Indians at the first repulse deserted, as usual.

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Meanwhile there had been other conflicts at sea. Captain James Lawrence, in command of the *Hornet*, had captured the *Peacock* off the coast of South America. The ships were equal in size and equipments. The action lasted but fifteen minutes. The *Peacock* raised signals of distress, for she was sinking rapidly, and in spite of the efforts of both crews she went down, carrying with her some of her own men and three of the *Hornet*'s. On his return, Lawrence was appointed to the command of the frigate *Chesapeake*, then in Boston harbor, undergoing repairs and enlisting a crew.

Feb.
23.

The British frigate *Shannon*, Captain Broke, had appeared off the harbor as if offering a challenge. The impetuous Lawrence put to sea, notwithstanding the deficiency of his crew, some of whom were much dissatisfied on account of back arrearages of prize money of a former cruise. The ship was also deficient in officers, the first lieutenant being unable from illness to go on board. The contest was witnessed by thousands from the hills and house tops. When the ships met, the *Chesapeake* became entangled with the *Shannon* in such a manner as to be exposed to a raking fire. Lawrence, mortally wounded at the commencement of the battle, was carried below. This created confusion for a few minutes, and Broke noticing that the fire had slackened, promptly gave orders to board, leading the men himself. The American

June

CHAP. boarders had just been called, and but few of them were
XLIII. yet upon deck ; after a hand to hand fight, the Chesapeake's colors were hauled down. The captor sailed immediately to Halifax. There Captain Lawrence died. He was buried with military honors and marks of respect. Afterward his remains were removed to New York. His last command, " Don't give up the ship," has become the watchword in the American navy.

The rejoicings in England over the capture of the Chesapeake were so great as to become highly complimentary to the Americans, to whom they were as gratifying as if the Shannon had been captured. It was an unequivocal evidence of the respect that the navy had inspired.

The same spirit which had done so much honor to the nation on the ocean, displayed itself on the lakes. The random incursions of undisciplined volunteers accomplished nothing until the control of the lakes was secured. A youthful lieutenant in the United States navy, Oliver Hazard Perry, a native of Newport, Rhode Island, volunteered for that service. Commodore Chauncey appointed him to the command of the fleet on Lake Erie. After much labor, Perry built and fitted out at the port of Erie, nine vessels of various sizes, from one carrying twenty-five guns down to those which carried only one. The American fleet had altogether fifty-five guns ; the British had six vessels carrying sixty-three guns. The number of men was about five hundred in each fleet. Owing to the direction of the wind at the commencement of the battle, Perry's flag ship, the Lawrence, was exposed to the concentrated fire of the enemy's entire fleet, and in a short time she was made a complete wreck. As the wind increased, the remaining ships were enabled to come up. Leaping into a boat, and in the midst of flying balls, Perry now transferred his flag, which bore the motto " Don't give up the ship," to the next largest vessel, the Niagara. When passing through the enemy's line he

poured in broadsides, right and left, within pistol-shot. The other American vessels closed, and in less than an hour every British ship had surrendered. The hero announced the result to General Harrison, in the memorable despatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

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Harrison hastened to profit by the victory, and to lead his men against Detroit and Malden. The fleet carried a portion of the troops across the lake, but they found Malden deserted. Proctor and Tecumseh had destroyed their military stores, and taken with them the horses and cattle in the neighborhood, and were now in full retreat toward the Moravian town, on the Thames. At Detroit Harrison was unexpectedly reinforced by about thirty-five hundred mounted Kentuckians, under the venerable Governor Shelby, one of the heroes of King's Mountain, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson. The pursuit now commenced in earnest. After a forced march of sixty miles, they overtook the enemy. A desperate encounter took place; nearly all Proctor's men were either taken or slain, he himself barely escaping with about two hundred dragoons. The Indians fought furiously when cheered on by Tecumseh, but when he fell, it is said by a pistol ball fired by Colonel Johnson himself, they broke and fled. With the life of the great savage planner ended Indian hostilities in that part of the frontier. The Kentuckians returned home in triumph. Leaving Colonel Lewis Cass, who was soon after appointed Governor of Michigan, to garrison Detroit with his brigade, Harrison embarked with thirteen hundred regulars for Buffalo, to assist in the cherished project of conquering Canada.

Oct
5.

Military enthusiasm was not confined to Kentucky and the region north of the Ohio. In answer to a call to defend New Orleans, volunteers in great numbers assembled at Nashville, Tennessee. General Andrew Jackson was their chosen commander.

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1813 Jackson was a native of North Carolina, of Scotch-Irish descent ; left fatherless at an early age :—his mother the descendant of a Scotch Covenanter, a woman of great energy, and of a daring spirit, but softened and subdued by religious principle and humane sympathy. From her he inherited a hatred of oppression, and an indomitable will that never failed to triumph. At the age of thirteen—in Revolutionary times—he began his career under General Sumter at the skirmish of Hanging Rock.

1780. His eldest brother had already fallen in battle, and here, in company with the brother next in age, he fought valiantly. Their home broken up and pillaged, the mother and her two sons became exiles from their own fireside. Soon after the sons, through the plottings of Tories, were made prisoners. The next day a British officer ordered Andrew to clean his boots, but the young hero indignantly refused to perform the menial service, and steadily persisted, though his life was threatened and the officer struck him with the flat of his sword.

The heroic mother at length obtained the exchange of her sons, but only in a short time to follow to the grave the elder, who died of small-pox, which both the brothers had contracted during their captivity.

The next year the mother, with some other ladies, travelled more than one hundred miles to minister to the wants of the unfortunate patriots, her neighbors, who were confined as prisoners on board of loathsome prison ships in the harbor of Charleston. Enfeebled by her labors of love, she contracted the fever then raging among the prisoners and speedily passed away. Thus at the age of fifteen Jackson was left without a relative in his native land. Scarcely has it ever fallen to the lot of a youth to experience a series of such harrowing misfortunes. Though young in years these trials had their effect ; they gave him the maturity of manhood ; they strengthened the decision of character, which so marked his life. To his friends

generous to a fault, yet he never suffered his will to be successfully resisted ; not from stubbornness—that stronghold of little minds—but from his impression of right. CHAP. XLIII.
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He early emigrated to Tennessee, then a territory, and was the first representative from that State in the House. He was then described by a contemporary, “as having been a tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face, and a cue down his back tied in an eel-skin ; his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a rough backwoodsman. No eye among his associates was prophetic enough, under that rude aspect, to recognize or imagine the future General and President.”¹

New Orleans was almost defenceless ; the same mistaken economy we have seen elsewhere, had been exercised here. There were only sixteen hundred men in the garrison, scarcely any ammunition, and no means of conveyance. Though without authority from the War Department, General Wilkinson—the same who in the days of the Revolution was one of the aids of General Gates,—had taken measures to survey all the water passages to the Gulf, and partially repair their fortifications. 1813

This expedition from Tennessee had a singular termination. The infantry, in number sixteen hundred, floated in flat-boats down the Cumberland, the Ohio and the Mississippi to Natchez, where they were joined by four hundred horsemen, who had marched across the country. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, sent orders to Jackson, who had been refused a commission in the regular army, to disband his men at Natchez, and deliver his military stores to General Wilkinson. To implicitly obey orders which he did not approve was not one of the virtues of Andrew Jackson. Suspecting that this order was a pretext to get rid of the volunteers without paying their Feb

¹ Hildreth, vol. iv., p. 692.

CHAP. wages, he positively refused to obey. Indignant at the
XLIII. wrong done the men, he unceremoniously drove out of the
1813. camp the United States recruiting officers, who had come,
hoping to induce those volunteers to enlist in the regular
army, who had not the funds to return home. On his own
responsibility, Jackson provided conveyances for the sick,
and marched the whole force back to Nashville, and there
April disbanded them. The War Department overlooked the in-
17. subordination, and quietly paid the bill.

The military operations on the northern frontier continued as unimportant, as they were inefficient in bringing Great Britain to terms. To secure the control of Lake Ontario it was necessary to destroy or capture the ships and military stores at York, now Toronto, then the capital of Upper Canada, and the head-quarters of General Sheafe. When the spring opened, Commodore Chauncy sailed with sixteen hundred men on board his fleet. They landed a short distance from the town, Lieutenant Scott, who had recently been exchanged, leading the van. General Pike led the troops to the assault. The retreating British fired a magazine, which exploded with tremendous power, overwhelmed the advancing Americans, and killed and wounded more than two hundred of their number, among whom was the gallant Pike, who died the next day. The town surrendered, and the contents of another magazine were transferred to Sackett's Harbor.

Just before the Americans embarked, a little one story building, known as the Parliament House, was burned. The British attributed the act to them, but General Dearborn and his officers believed it was set on fire by the disaffected Canadians, as they had threatened to burn it.

Major Grafton certified that no American could have committed the deed without his knowledge, as he had the command of the patrol in the vicinity of the House. The

Canadian Chief Justice of the district, in a communication, spoke of the humane conduct of the Americans, "which entitled them to the gratitude of the people of York." Yet retaliation, for the burning of this building, was the excuse offered afterward for the wanton destruction and pillaging of the public buildings at Washington.

During the summer occurred a number of failures, all traceable to the inefficiency of the commanders. Finally certain members of Congress informally requested the President, through secretary Monroe, to recall Dearborn from the command. Accordingly Wilkinson was transferred from New Orleans to the northern frontier. General Wade Hampton, recently in command at Norfolk, was also appointed to the command of a division ; but as he and Wilkinson were not on friendly terms, he accepted the office only on condition that he should not be placed under the command of the latter. That patriotism which would overlook private resentment for the good of the country must be sacrificed to the personal enmities of these gentlemen. Hoping to remove the difficulty, Armstrong, the Secretary of War, suddenly appeared on the ground, and assumed the chief command himself ; but he and Wilkinson could not agree on a plan of operations. After refusing to accept the proffered resignation of Wilkinson, who did not relish the uncalled-for interference, the Secretary returned to his more appropriate duties at Washington.

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May

Another futile attempt was made to conquer Canada. General Wilkinson moved his army from Sackett's Harbor, toward Montreal ; in the mean time General Hampton was advancing up from Lake Champlain. The two American armies if united would number twelve thousand men, while the whole British force was about two thousand, and these mostly militia. Wilkinson wrote to Hampton, in Armstrong's name, to join him at St. Regis, but instead of co-operating, Hampton replied that he had given up the expedition and was already on his return to

CHAP. winter-quarters. Under these circumstances, Wilkinson
 XLIII. found it necessary to retreat, as the season would be too
 1813. far advanced before he could obtain the provisions and
 Nov. aid which Hampton had failed to supply. During the
 18. previous summer there had been on the lake, as well as on
 its shores, several expeditions as unimportant in them-
 selves as they were trifling in their results.

When General Harrison, who soon after resigned his
 commission, retired, he left a General McClure in com-
 mand at the head of Lake Ontario. Presently McClure
 found himself with only a few regular troops, as the militia
 under his command were returning home ; their term of
 enlistments had expired. Not prepared to resist the ad-
 vancing British, he was forced to retire across the river to
 the American side. Before leaving he destroyed Fort
 George, and set on fire the village of Newark, lest the
 enemy, as he said, should find comfortable winter-quarters.
 McClure gave as his excuse for thus burning the homes,
 and turning four hundred inoffensive people, men, women,
 and children, out into the winter's storms, that he thought
 he was justified by the orders of the War Department.
 In truth there was no excuse for the cruel and wanton
 Dec. act. Evil begets evil. Ten days after, the enemy passed
 20. over to the American side, surprised Fort Niagara, and
 put the garrison to the sword. Then commenced the
 retaliation for the burning of Newark. They burned
 Lewistown, Youngstown, Manchester, Black Rock, and
 Buffalo, and indeed every house that could be reached
 from Lake Ontario to Erie. Prevost issued immediately
 after a proclamation, in which he stated that these rav-
 ages were provoked by the burning of Newark, and if the
 Americans would hereafter refrain from such outrages, he
 should conduct the war on humane and civilized principles.

During the summer the whole American coast was
 June. blockaded by the overwhelming force of the British fleet.
 The Hornet, the frigates United States and Macedonian,

were shut up in the harbor of New London. The harbor of New York, the Delaware and Chesapeake bays, the harbors of Charleston and Savannah, the mouth of the Mississippi, were all blockaded. In the Chesapeake alone there were more than twenty British armed vessels, on board of which were three or four thousand land troops. These frequently landed and pillaged the towns, and in some instances committed outrages upon the inhabitants, especially at Hampton, a small village on James river. The infamy of conducting these marauding expeditions belongs to Vice-Admiral Cockburn, whose conduct was more in accordance with the brutality of a savage, than with the humanity of an officer of a Christian nation. These marauders were well characterized by the term, "Water Winnebagos."

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The war was not confined to the northern frontier. The untiring Tecumseh had visited the Creeks the previous year, and inspired them, especially their young warriors, with his views. The Creeks occupied the greater portion of what is now the State of Alabama, and a portion of south-western Georgia. Numbers of the tribe had become partially civilized, living upon the products of their fields and their herds. The nation was divided in opinion. The intelligent and wealthy portion were in favor of peace, while the ignorant and poor were in favor of war. The one party saw in a war with the United States, the utter ruin of their nation; the other a return to their ancient customs, and a perfect independence of the white man. The settlers blindly neglected the repeated warnings given of these hostile intentions. When suddenly Wetherford, a celebrated half-breed chief, surrounded Fort Mimms, on the lower Alabama, and put to death nearly three hundred persons, men, women, and children. The South was speedily roused, and soon about seven thousand volunteers were on their march in four

CHAP. divisions, to penetrate the enemy's country, from as many
XLIII. points, and to meet in the centre.

1813. General Jackson, with his recent Natchez volunteers,
Dec. moved from Nashville ; from East Tennessee, another
division, under General Cocke ; one from Georgia, and
1814. one from the Mississippi Territory. In addition the
lower Creeks took up arms against their brethren ; and
also Cherokees and Choctaws joined in the expedition. A
series of attacks commenced upon the savage enemy.
The Creeks were defeated in every conflict ; cut down
without mercy, their warriors disdaining to ask for their
lives. The divisions penetrated the country from different
points, and drove them from place to place. In this last
struggle for their homes they were overwhelmed, but not
conquered. Thus the war continued for some months,
when the greater portion of the volunteers returned home.
Jackson was compelled to suspend offensive operations
till reinforcements should arrive. At length they came,
and he went in pursuit of the enemy. On a peninsula
formed by a peculiar bend in the Tallapoosa river, known as
Emuchfau, or the Horse-shoe, the Indians made their last
stand. They fortified the neck of the peninsula, as much
as their rude materials would permit. Thither they trans-
ferred their wives and children, in whose defence they
resolved to die, and there in gloomy silence they awaited
the attack.

Mar. The assault was made on the breastwork, which, after
28. five hours' fighting, was carried. Nearly six hundred of
the warriors perished, and the women and children were
taken prisoners. Thus, after a campaign of six months,
the power of the Creeks was broken, and with it
their spirit was crushed. The warriors who were yet
living, began to give themselves up to the conquerors. A
noble-looking chief suddenly, at the hour of midnight, pre-
sented himself to Jackson. " I fought at Fort Mimms ;
I fought the army of Georgia," said he ; " I did you all

the harm I could. Had I been supported as I was promised, I would have done more. But my warriors are killed, and I can fight no longer ; I look back with sorrow that I have brought ruin upon my nation. I am now in your power, do with me as you please ; I too am a warrior." Such were the words of Wetherford, the destroyer of Fort Mimms. Jackson could appreciate the man who would fight for his country ; though the volunteers murmured, he spared the life of the chief. The General, so stern in the performance of duty, was not devoid of humane sympathy. When walking on the field of battle his attention was arrested by the wail of an Indian babe. He himself was a childless man, yet his heart was touched. Ordering the infant to be brought to the camp, he asked the Indian women to take care of it. "Its mother is dead, let it die too," was their reply. The General took the child himself, carried it to his home, and reared it in his own family.

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The Essex, Captain Porter, passed round Cape Horn, expecting to meet the Constitution in the Pacific ; but she, as has already been noted, returned home after the capture of the Java. When he arrived at Valparaiso, Porter was gratified to be received as a friend. Chili had thrown off her allegiance to Spain, and was no longer an ally of England. Learning there that the viceroy of Peru had, in expectation of war between Spain and the United States, authorized cruisers against American whalers, he put to sea in order to chastise these cruisers, one of whom he captured and disarmed. He then went in pursuit of the British whalers, who were all armed, and carried commissions from their own government to capture American whaling vessels. In a few months he captured twelve of these whalers. Hearing that the British frigate Phœbe had been sent in pursuit of him, he returned early in the year to Valparaiso, in search of the enemy. Soon the

1812

- CHAP. XLIII. Phœbe appeared, accompanied by the sloop-of-war Cherub. In guns and men the Phœbe was a full match for the Essex.
1814. The two hostile vessels took their position off the harbor. Porter determined to avoid the unequal contest by escaping to sea; but when passing out of the harbor a sudden squall carried away his main-topmast, and, as he could not return to port, he was at the mercy of the Phœbe and Cherub. After an encounter, perhaps the most desperate of any naval engagement during the war, he was forced to surrender; but he did not strike his flag until he had lost the unusual number of fifty-eight killed and sixty-six wounded. In giving an account of the affair to the Secretary of the Navy, he wrote: "We have been unfortunate, but not disgraced."
- March.

Efforts had been made by local societies, small and limited in their influence, to circulate the Bible, but not until the formation of a large association, with more means and greater facilities, could much be accomplished in publishing and distributing the Scriptures. Sixty delegates, men of influence and representing thirty-five of these local associations, met in New York City and formed the American Bible Society. During the first year eighty-four local societies became auxiliary to it; now the auxiliaries, directly or indirectly connected with the Institution, number over seven thousand. During the first year of its existence the members of the British Bible Society sent it their congratulations and a donation of twenty-five hundred dollars. The Society publishes the Bible without note or comment, and has the confidence of all the Protestant denominations. It publishes more than two hundred varieties of the English Bible, and more than one hundred and forty varieties in other languages. Three several times (1829, 1856, and 1866) the Society, as far as possible, has supplied every family in the Union destitute of the Bible with a copy.

1816.
May 8.

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CHAPTER XLIV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The Thirteenth Congress; its Members.—Daniel Webster.—Manifesto of the British Government.—Embarrassments.—Commissioners of Peace appointed.—Britain offers to negotiate.—Jacob Brown.—Winfield Scott.—E. W. Ripley.—Wilkinson unsuccessful; his Misfortunes.—Capture of Fort Erie.—Battle of Lundy's Lane.—Its effect.—British repulsed at Fort Erie; their Batteries captured.—Battle on Lake Champlain.—British marauding Expeditions on the Shores of the Chesapeake.—Bladensburg.—Capture of Washington.—The Public Buildings burned.—Defence of Fort McHenry.—Death of General Ross.—Bombardment of Stonington.—Distress in New England.—Debates in Congress.—Embargo and Non-importation Act repealed.—Hartford Convention.

THE thirteenth Congress, in obedience to the call of the President, met in special session, some months before the usual time. The last census had increased the number of Representatives in the House to 182. Of the present members a greater proportion than in the last Congress were opposed to the war, and, indeed, its own advocates on that subject were by no means harmonious among themselves.

In this Congress, as well as in the last, appeared many new men, whose influence was afterward greatly felt, not only in their respective States, but in moulding the future policy of the nation itself. Among these were John Forsyth of Georgia, William Gaston of North Carolina, John McLean of Ohio, and Daniel Webster of New Hampshire, who now commenced that career so marked in our

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national councils. Born on the frontiers of that State, his privileges were limited. The quiet, thoughtful boy, fond of books, read all within his reach. His father, a man of strong sense and sterling integrity ; his mother, a woman of more than ordinary intellect and force of character ; to their judicious guidance may be traced the best elements of his education. The father noticed his expanding intellect, the calm power of mind that intuitively grasped thoughts far beyond his years. His resolution was taken ; though very limited in means, he must educate his son. At length he informed Daniel of his determination to send him to college. At this first intimation that the dreams which had been floating before his imagination were to be realized, the boy's emotions were too deep for utterance ; he threw himself upon his father's neck and wept for joy.

In Congress stirring debates ensued. Not only was the policy of the war severely criticized, but the manner in which it had been conducted. Its advocates were surrounded with difficulties ; the means to carry it on were exhausted ; the revenue derived from commerce had dwindled to one million, with a prospect of still greater reduction ; enormous bounties were offered to obtain recruits for the army, but very few enlisted. The clashing of opinions on the subject had arrayed the people definitely on one side or the other.

Jan.

The British government issued to the world a manifesto, in which certain charges industriously circulated in the United States were utterly denied—such as that they had instigated the Indians to hostilities, or that they had endeavored to seduce the people of the Eastern States from the Union ; but on the contrary, they protested that the English people were actuated by a spirit of forbearance, and were truly desirous to be at peace and amity with the people of the United States. As to the question of search, they were unwilling to give up the

right to recover their deserting seamen, unless the United States would remove the necessity for impressments, by enacting laws forbidding British sailors to enlist in the American service. This document had a great effect in influencing the minds of the people in England, as well as upon those in the United States.

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The disasters of the last campaign, and the want of money, a sufficiency of which could not be obtained by loans, were not as embarrassing to the government, as the opposition to the war which prevailed in the New England States. The Legislature of Massachusetts sent a remonstrance to Congress. They denounced the war as unreasonable, for Great Britain had repealed the obnoxious Orders in Council, and also offered to negotiate in relation to impressments. Undue influences in the councils of the nation had led to measures opposed to their interests, and had brought ruin upon them by war. It was a duty to their constituents to make this remonstrance. They appealed to the Searcher of hearts for the purity of their motives, and their devotion to their country.

The people of New England complained that for the last twelve years, their influence in the national government had not been in proportion to their population, intelligence and wealth,—that their best and ablest men had been designedly excluded from positions of influence in the councils of the nation.

In less than a year after the declaration of war, President Madison, influenced by an offer of mediation on the part of Russia, appointed Albert Gallatin, his Secretary of the Treasury, and James A. Bayard, commissioners to negotiate a peace. They were to act in concert with John Quincy Adams, then minister at the court of St. Petersburg. The offered mediation by Russia was declined by England; and nothing was accomplished by the commissioners. Nearly a year afterward, the British government made a direct overture to treat of peace, either at

Mar.

CHAP. London or at Gottenburg in Sweden. This offer was
XLIV. made in the face of the ultimate downfall of Bonaparte,
1814. who had just been defeated at the battle of Leipsic. The
Jan. President gladly accepted the offer, though he complained
14. that the English government had rejected the mediation
of Russia, which had been offered three several times.
Accordingly, Henry Clay and Jonathan Russell, recently
minister to England, were appointed additional commis-
sioners of peace. In a month's time, they had received
their instructions, and were on their way to Europe.

These instructions took decided ground on the im-
pressment question. "That degrading practice must cease,"
said they. "Our flag must protect the crew, or the United
States cannot consider themselves an independent nation."
Yet the promise was quietly made to enact a law for-
bidding the enlistment of British sailors, either in the
United States navy or in the mercantile service. Still
more, the commissioners were privately authorized "to go
further, to prevent a possibility of failure." It will be re-
membered that this was the very law or assurance in
effect, that Britain asked of Congress, at the commence-
ment of the war.

Engrossed with the affairs of Europe, England as yet
could spare but few men or ships for the American
war. Bonaparte having abdicated and retired to Elba,
she had on her hands a large veteran army unemployed.
Of this army, fourteen thousand soldiers were sent to
Canada, while other portions were sent to different places
in the United States. This acquisition changed the face
of affairs on the northern frontier.

The failures in that quarter, had thrown the adminis-
tration at Washington into despair. The soldiers had
but little confidence in officers, who were continually
quarrelling with each other, and never acting in concert,
and this favorite measure was about to be given up, from
sheer want of proper persons to lead the enterprise. New

men were coming on the stage. The most promising of these was Colonel Jacob Brown, a Pennsylvanian by birth, a Quaker by descent, who, when a school teacher in the city of New York, attracted the attention of Hamilton, who made him his military secretary in the army of 1798. Brown subsequently removed to the northern part of New York State, and there, in his defence of Ogdensburg, as well as on other occasions, exhibited military talents of a high order. There was another youthful hero, destined to fill an honorable space in the military annals of his country. Winfield Scott, a native of Virginia, originally bred for the bar; he also belonged to the army of '98. At the commencement of the war he raised and commanded a company of volunteers. To these may be added Eleazar W. Ripley, of Maine, who possessed talents of a high order.

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These young and enthusiastic officers believed that if the Americans were drilled, and led by commanders in whom they had confidence, they would meet the British regulars without fear for the result. Owing to their solicitations, another invasion of Canada was planned. Nothing, however, was gained by the effort, except the verification of their theory.

Early in the spring, Wilkinson, who had been ill for months, moved with four thousand men, from winter quarters, to repel a British detachment. His progress was arrested near La Colle, at a stone mill, held as an outpost. The single heavy cannon brought to batter down the mill, sunk in the mire. An unusual thaw commencing, flooded the whole country, and opened Lake Champlain, of which the British had control. The Americans were fain to retire from the danger as soon as possible. Wilkinson was so much abused and ridiculed on account of this failure, that he indignantly resigned, and demanded an inquiry into his conduct by a court-martial.

Mar

One year from that time, he was honorably acquitted by the court. But the government, which he had faith-

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1814. fully served for forty years, on the reduction of the army after the war, dismissed him from its service. Thus in his old age he experienced the hardship of being turned upon the world without a competency. The State of Maryland came forward, and generously granted him a pension.

When spring further opened, a concentration of forces on both sides resulted in a series of movements and counter-movements accomplishing nothing of importance. The first point resolved upon, was to seize Burlington Heights, at the head of Lake Ontario, before aid could come from York. In the mean time, Commodore Chauncey was to get the command of the lake.

Having obtained permission from the government, General Brown, with thirty-five hundred men, some regulars and some volunteers, passed in the night from Buffalo to Canada, presented himself in the morning before Fort Erie, and summoned the garrison to surrender. In the course of the day, the fort complied.

July
2.

The British General Riall, with an army equal in number to that of Brown, was stationed behind the Chippewa, distant fifteen miles. Colonel Scott, the next day, led the advance against the enemy, whose outposts he drove in ; the remainder of the army came up at midnight. Brown here gave an indication of what he expected of his officers ; he cashiered one of their number for untimely retreating in a skirmish. On the following day, Riall left his intrenchments and crossed the Chippewa. The volunteers could not resist the attack, but fled, leaving Scott's brigade exposed. The latter charged the advancing enemy with the bayonet, and forced them to retreat ; as they passed the bridge they destroyed it. Riall immediately abandoned his camp and Queenstown, and leaving a strong force in Fort George, retreated to a favorable position twelve miles distant. The British loss in these engagements was about five hundred, the American about three hundred

This first victory, after a fair trial of strength, was very gratifying to the Americans, privates as well as officers. Brown took possession of Queenstown, but found he had not the proper cannon to successfully attack Fort George, and that the fleet could not co-operate. After maintaining his position three weeks, he fell back to the Chippewa.

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1814.

July
24

The British were not idle. On the very day that Brown reached the Chippewa, General Drummond arrived from York at Fort George, with large reinforcements. To prevent them from sending a detachment to destroy his stores at Schlosser, Brown made an advance upon the enemy. Scott led his brigade, accompanied by the artillery commanded by Towson. General Riall was advancing in force in an opposite direction, intending on the following morning to attack the Americans. About sunset, when directly opposite the falls of Niagara, these parties unexpectedly met. The British took position on a rising ground, and there placed their artillery, consisting of seven pieces. These began to play upon Scott's brigade, while, because of their position on the hill, balls from Towson's guns could scarcely reach them. The loss of the Americans was great, yet they maintained their position, expecting Brown with the main army. When it was quite dark, he arrived. One of Scott's regiments under Major Jessup drove the Canadian militia before them, and, gaining the rear of the enemy, captured a number of prisoners, among whom was General Riall himself, who having been wounded, was retiring. It was seen that the key of the position was the park of artillery on the hill. Said Ripley to Colonel James Miller: "Can you take that battery?" "I'll try, sir," was the prompt reply. Then silently leading his regiment, which was partially concealed by the fence of a churchyard, along which they passed, Miller rushed upon the artillerists, and drove them from their guns at the point of the bayonet. Presently General Drummond advanced in the darkness to recover the

CHAP. guns ; but his men quailed before the terrible fire which
 XLIV. they encountered. He rallied them again ; and again
 1814. they were forced from the hill. With the energy of desperation, for the third time they advanced, and were again met with a resistance equally obstinate,—the opposing forces fighting hand to hand with the bayonet. It was now midnight. The British sullenly retired. The Americans had maintained their ground, supplying their own exhausted ammunition from the cartridge-boxes of their slain foes. The men were almost perishing with hunger, thirst and fatigue. They had marched during the day fifteen miles, and contended with the enemy five hours. Exhausted, they sank upon the ground. The silence was broken only by the groans of the wounded and dying, and the roar of the mighty cataract, whose moaning tones was a fit requiem for the dead on that field of blood.

July
 25.

The Americans at length retired to their camp, not having horses or any means to carry off the guns which they had captured. The scouts of the enemy soon discovered that they had retired, and a strong detachment was sent to reoccupy the hill and recover their artillery.

Such was the midnight battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane. The Americans lost nearly seven hundred and fifty men—and the British nearly nine hundred ; an unprecedented loss, when compared with the number engaged. Brown and Scott were both wounded ; as well as nearly all the regimental officers. The next morning there were but sixteen hundred effective men in the American camp. It was now seen that the Americans, when properly led, could and would fight. They had met the veterans who fought under Wellington in Spain, and repulsed them in three desperate encounters. This battle stood out in bold relief, when compared with the imbecility hitherto so characteristic of the campaigns on the northern front.

tier. It acquired a national interest, as important in its effect as the first naval victories. CHAP. XLIV.

The American army fell back to Fort Erie, the command of which Brown intrusted to Colonel Edmund P. Gaines. In the course of a fortnight, Drummond advanced with four thousand men, and after bombarding the fort, attempted at midnight to carry it by assault. The British, in the face of a destructive fire, charged again and again, even within a few feet of the intrenchments. They were finally forced to retire, after sustaining a loss of nearly a thousand men—the Americans not losing a hundred. In a few weeks the energetic Brown, now partially recovered from his wounds, assumed the command. He determined to make a dash at the enemy's batteries, which were two miles in advance of their camp. The time, mid-day, was well chosen. Rushing out from the fort, before assistance could come from the British camp, he stormed the batteries, fired the magazines, spiked the guns, captured four hundred prisoners, and returned to the fort, leaving six hundred of the enemy killed and wounded. But this brilliant exploit cost him nearly three hundred men. Drummond immediately raised the siege and retreated beyond the Chippewa.

1814.

Aug.
15.Sept.
17.

Stirring events occurred on another part of the frontier. The little navy on Lake Champlain emulated the deeds of the one on Lake Erie just a year before. General Prevost, himself, marched from Canada with twelve thousand veteran troops to invade the State of New York—the town of Plattsburg was the special object of attack. There on the south bank of the Saranac, General Macomb was intrenched with an army of three thousand men, many of whom were invalids. The main body of the American forces was under General Izard, at Sackett's Harbor. Macomb called upon the militia of Vermont and New York for aid; three thousand of whom nobly responded, as did their fathers thirty-seven years before,

Sept.
7

CHAP. when Burgoyne was moving in the same direction, and for
XLIV. the same purpose. Commodore Macdonough, after labor-
1814. ing incessantly, had at last equipped a fleet. It consisted
of a ship, the *Saratoga*, of twenty-six guns, a brig of
twenty guns, an armed schooner, and a sloop, besides
some gun-boats, in all eighty-six guns and eight hundred
and fifty-six men. The British soon appeared, and be-
gan to prepare batteries in order to assault Macomb's
position. It was useless to force the *Saranac*, unless the
command of the lake was secured. Captain Downie had
a fleet of one ship of thirty-seven guns, a brig of twenty-
four, two sloops each of eleven, and a number of gun-
boats, in all ninety-five guns and one thousand men.
Macdonough moored his fleet across the entrance of *Platts-*
burg Bay. A strange scene was witnessed on board the
Saratoga. As the British fleet drew near, Macdonough
knelt in prayer in the presence of his men, and implored the
blessing of Heaven upon his country, and especially upon
those about to engage with him in the coming conflict.

Sept. Downie stood directly into the harbor, reserving his
11. fire for a close action, but his largest vessel became so
disabled that he was obliged to cast anchor a quarter of a
mile from the American line. During this time one of
his sloops was so cut up as to become unmanageable, and
drifting within reach, was secured, while the other sloop
for a similar cause drifted ashore. All the guns on one
side of Macdonough's largest ship were disabled, but he
managed to wind her round, and presented a whole side
and guns to her antagonist. Downie attempted the same
manœuvre, but failing he struck his flag ; the entire fleet
was captured with the exception of a few gun-boats.

When the battle began on the lake, Prevost advanced
to storm Macomb's position ; he delayed the main attack
till a detachment could cross the river above, but before
that was accomplished, the fleet had surrendered. The
following night, in the midst of a raging storm, the enemy,

stricken with a sudden panic, commenced their retreat, abandoned their sick and wounded, and the greater part of their stores. Thus again the navy of the lake had given a decisive blow.

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Their great number of vessels enabled the British still to blockade the ports of the United States, and effectually prevent their ships of war from getting to sea. The Wasp was their only one afloat. She was known to have lately captured the British sloop-of-war Avon, and subsequently three other prizes. All trace of her was now lost; she had gone down, carrying with her the only American flag which waved on the ocean from a national vessel. Chesapeake Bay became the favorite rendezvous for the British fleet; its shores affording great facilities for marauding expeditions. As a defence, the gun-boats were of no service, except to make a bold front till the enemy came near, and then to run up the creeks, out of harm's way.

In the waters of the Chesapeake and its tributaries, there were now sixty ships of war under the command of Admirals Cockburn and Cochrane. On board this fleet was a land force of five thousand troops, under General Robert Ross. The greatest alarm prevailed in that region in consequence of a proclamation, signed by Cochrane, which promised to persons desirous of emigrating from the United States, employment in the British army and navy, or transportation as "*free settlers*" to the West India Islands, or to Canada. Still more alarming was the rumor, based on the proposition of some British officers, that the enemy were about to seize the peninsula between the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and there form and drill an army of runaway slaves.

July
9.

General Winder, who was appointed to the command in the emergency, was authorized to call out fifteen thousand militia from the neighboring States. This he proposed to do some weeks before the enemy appeared, and

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1814.

to place them in a central position, that they might be able to march to the defence of either Washington, Baltimore, or Annapolis, as the case might require. This judicious plan was not adopted. Armstrong, the Secretary of War, opposed it on the ground that with an empty treasury it would be unjustifiable to incur the expense ; and, moreover, he was of the opinion that Washington would not be attacked by an enemy who were without horses or cannon, and that Baltimore could defend itself. President Madison seems to have been at a loss what to do or advise. In the midst of these discussions the enemy appeared, one portion of their fleet coming up the bay, and another up the Potomac.

Aug.
20.

At this late hour word was sent, not by express, but by the tardy mail, to the authorities of Pennsylvania and Virginia, asking them to forward their requisition of militia. It was now impossible for them to reach the scene of action. In the mean time at Benedict, on the Patuxent, about fifty miles from Washington, General Ross landed five thousand troops, without meeting the least opposition from the militia of the neighborhood. He commenced his march toward the capital, moving very slowly, not more than ten miles a day, the marines, for want of horses, dragging their field-pieces, only three or four. The soldiers were enervated from the effects of their voyage, and from the excessive heat of the weather. A few spirited troops could have easily checked them. A company of armed and trained negroes marched in front, cautiously exploring the country, and receiving from runaway slaves information of the Americans. The soul of the enterprise was the notorious Cockburn, who had been for a year engaged in pillaging that region. The planters were so much alarmed for their own safety, lest the slaves, much more numerous than their masters, should rise in insurrection and join the enemy, that they permitted the invaders to advance for four days without making the least

opposition. They might have been delayed on their march much longer, if trees had been felled at certain points where the roads crossed swamps, or if the numerous bridges on the route had been broken down.

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Commodore Barney, who was in command of the flotilla of gun-boats, ran them up the Patuxent as far as possible, then set them on fire, and marched with five hundred marines to join the militia concentrating in the vicinity of Bladensburg. Here he was put in command of some heavy guns brought from the navy yard. The President himself, accompanied by his cabinet, visited the camp, where all was in confusion. The divisions of militia were stationed by General Winder in such positions as to support each other, but these had been changed by self-constituted officers, who accompanied the President. It was ascertained that the enemy was moving toward Bladensburg. Rumor had magnified their number to ten thousand; all veterans. The discreet militia began to retreat, some with permission and some without. On learning this General Winder sent orders for them to make a stand at the bridge and fight. The village was abandoned, and on the other side of the east branch of the Potomac the marines and militia were arranged. Barney had placed his men in a position to sweep the road with the guns. About the middle of the afternoon the enemy appeared, but so excessive had been the heat, that they were completely exhausted. When Ross reconnoitred the militia stationed on the rising ground, he was somewhat alarmed at their formidable appearance. But he had gone too far to retreat; the order was given to move forward. His alarm was of short continuance. A few Congreve rockets put the Maryland militia to flight; the riflemen followed; the artillery, after firing not more than twice, rapidly retreated; then the Baltimore regiment, on which some hopes were placed, fled also, carrying with them the President and his cabinet. The

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1814. British now moved slowly on until they were checked by the guns manned by the marines under Barney. Finding it impossible to force the position of the marines and sailors in front, detachments filed by the right and left and passed up ravines. At the head of one was stationed the Annapolis regiment, which fled at the first fire. At the head of the other ravine were placed some regulars and militia; they also showed their discretion by getting out of harm's way as soon as possible. The sailors and marines, thus deserted, and in danger of being surrounded, retired, their guns and wounded companions falling into the hands of the enemy. Owing to the vigorous fire of the marines, the British lost a large number of men, and others died from fatigue and heat, and it was absolutely necessary to wait some hours before they could march on Washington. Thus ended the battle of Bladensburg,—in one respect the most famous in American annals.

Aug. 25. In the cool of the evening the British advanced into Washington, which they found almost entirely deserted by its male inhabitants. The enemy proceeded to disgrace themselves by fulfilling the instructions which Admiral Cochrane had previously officially announced, which were “to destroy and lay waste all towns and districts of the United States found accessible to the attack of British armaments.” They burned the capitol, and with it the Congressional Library, and the buildings used for the Treasury and State Departments, in revenge, as it was said, for the Parliament House at York. Many important papers were lost, but the most valuable had been removed some days before. Mrs. Madison had left the President's mansion, taking with her the plate and valuables, and also a portrait of Washington—which was taken from the frame and rolled up. The mansion was pillaged and set on fire, as were some private dwellings, and stores were also plundered. A complete destruction followed at the navy yard.

In the midst of a hostile country, General Ross, with a handful of exhausted men, was ill at ease. Perhaps he had read of Concord and Lexington, and was alarmed lest "the indignant citizen soldiery" would turn out and harass him on his retreat. Early the following night he kindled the camp fires, and leaving behind him the sick and wounded, he commenced a stealthy retreat to his ships. His alarm was needless ; in a march of four days not the least opposition did he experience. Four days after the taking of the capital, the British frigates, passing by Fort Washington, which offered but little resistance, came up the Potomac and anchored opposite Alexandria, which town saved itself from a bombardment by paying an enormous tribute.

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When his men were refreshed, General Ross moved with the fleet up the Chesapeake, toward Baltimore. The militia of Maryland by this time had assembled for the defence of the city, and also several companies of volunteers had arrived from Pennsylvania. The enemy, eight thousand strong, landed at North Point, at the mouth of the Patapsco. The land forces commenced their march, and the fleet to ascend the river, intending to capture Fort McHenry, situated two miles below the city. An advance party of Americans were thrown forward. In a skirmish with this party, General Ross was killed, yet the invaders pressed on; the militia, after a spirited encounter, retired in good order. The next morning the enemy advanced, yet hesitatingly, as the neighboring hills were covered with soldiers, field works and artillery, which altogether made a formidable appearance. They were under the veteran General Samuel Smith, the same who so gallantly defended Fort Mifflin in the Revolution. The British hesitated to commence the attack without the co-operation of the fleet, which was then busily engaged in bombarding Fort McHenry, but without much success, as the fort was replying with great spirit. When it was

Sept
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CHAP. XLIV. ascertained that the fleet could not pass the fort, the invaders silently retired in the night and re-embarked.

1814. It was amid the excitement of this cannonade that Francis Key composed the popular song of the "Star Spangled Banner." He had gone to ask the release of certain prisoners, and had been detained during the attack on board the British fleet.

From Eastport in Maine to Sandy Hook, the whole Eastern coast was liable to these marauding expeditions. One of the most serious of these, was the bombardment of Stonington in Connecticut, which continued for four days, but after throwing shells and rockets, and several attempts to land, the enemy retired. They were repelled in every instance by the sturdy militia. Field works, garrisoned by the yeomanry of the country, were thrown up at all points along the coast likely to be an object of attack. This was done by the State authorities, the national government being so completely enfeebled, as to be unable to afford the least aid to any of the States.

The people of New England, with very few exceptions, continued to complain of their grievances. Their distress was great; the embargo, enforced by severe penalties, ruined their fisheries and their coasting trade, and had deprived them of many of the necessities of life. They looked upon these restrictions as "more odious and unfeeling than the Boston Port Bill, which roused the colonies to independence; a gross and palpable violation of the principles of the Constitution, not to be submitted to without a pusillanimous surrender of their rights and liberties."

Feb. Petitions poured in to the legislature of Massachusetts, asking it to take measures to redress these grievances. A committee to whom these petitions were referred, reported in terms expressive of the general sentiment of the petitioners. They believed that the war, so fertile in failures, and so threatening as to its results, was uncalled for and

wrong in principle. They saw in the future the people impoverished, deprived of their comforts, and their hopes blasted. And the committee recommended a convention of delegates from the commercial States, to obtain amendments to the constitution that would secure them against such evils.

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These manifestations of discontent had their effect, and the President himself proposed the abandonment of the restrictive system, not only the embargo, but the non-importation act. In order to encourage domestic manufactures, instead of the latter he recommended that for three years after the close of the war double duties be imposed upon imported goods, and that the exportation of specie be prohibited.

Mar
31.

The advocates of the war in Congress, annoyed at the failures of the last two years, attributed their want of success to the influence of those opposed to the war; instead of acknowledging their own imprudence, in thus rushing, without preparation, into hostilities, or ceasing to be infatuated with the idea of conquering Canada. In the discussion on a bill to procure enlistments for the army, Daniel Webster in reply to these charges, no doubt expressed the general sentiment of those opposed to the war. In those sections of the country where the population was most numerous, the war was unpopular because of its impolicy;—it was no detraction from their patriotism that they did not join heart and hand in measures which they deemed the extreme of folly. He continued,—“Give up your futile projects of invasion. Extinguish the fires which blaze on your inland frontiers. Establish perfect safety and defence there by adequate force. Let every man that sleeps on your soil sleep in security. Having performed this work of beneficence and mercy on your inland border, turn and look with the eye of justice and compassion on your vast population along the coast. Unclench the iron grasp of your embargo. Take

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measures for that end before another sun sets upon you. With all the war of the enemy upon your commerce, if you would cease to make war upon it yourselves, you would still have some commerce. That commerce would give you some revenue. Apply that revenue to the augmentation of your navy. Let it no longer be said, that not one ship of force, built by your hands since the war, yet floats upon the ocean. If the war must continue, go to the ocean. If you are seriously contending for maritime rights, go to the theatre where alone those rights can be defended. Thither every indication of your fortune points you. There the united wishes and exertions of the nation will go with you. Even our party divisions, acrimonious as they are, cease at the water's edge. They are lost in attachment to the national character, on the element where that character is made respectable. In time you may be able to redress injuries in the place where they may be offered ; and, if need be, to accompany your own flag throughout the world with the protection of your own cannon."

The embargo and non-importation act were repealed, while action on the other recommendations of the President was postponed.

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The delegates to the convention recommended by the legislature of Massachusetts, met upon the appointed day at Hartford. In accordance with the sentiments expressed in the call for the convention, the members were enjoined not to propose measures "repugnant to their obligations, as members of the Union." They met in a time of trial and distress to confer with each other on the best means to relieve the country of a ruinous war, and secure the blessings of a permanent peace. The Convention, consisting of but twenty-six members, sat with closed doors. After a session of twenty days it adjourned, and, as the result of their deliberations, published an address to the people. The address disappointed the more violent

opponents of the war, who thought the occasion demanded more decided measures. The President and his cabinet had been much alarmed ; in the Convention, they imagined lurked some terrible plot of treason ; they breathed more freely when they read this address and the resolutions

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After recapitulating the evils which the war had brought upon the people whom they represented, they expressed their sentiments upon other wrongs ; such as the enlistment of minors and apprentices ; the national government assuming to command the State militia ; and especially the proposed system of conscription for both army and navy. " Strange propositions for a government professedly waging war to protect its seamen from impressment ! " " The conscription of the father with the seduction of the son, renders complete the power of the national executive over the male population of the country, thus destroying the most important relations of society."

" A free constitution administered by great and incomparable statesmen realized the fondest hopes of liberty and independence, under Washington and his measures. The arts flourished, the comforts of life were universally diffused, nothing remained but to reap the advantages and cherish the resources flowing from this policy."

" Our object is to strengthen and perpetuate the union of these States, by removing the causes of jealousies."

In furtherance of these views they proposed amendments to the Constitution ; among others, to equalize the representation in the lower House of Congress, by basing it on free population ; against embargoes and non-intercourse laws ; to make the President ineligible for a second term. These amendments were never adopted by the States. The existence of the Convention showed the intense feeling on the subject of the war and its consequences, and its deliberations exhibit no other spirit than that of wishing to redress grievances by constitutional means.

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1814. Shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut, viewing the law of Congress which authorized the enlistment of minors and apprentices, as a violation of their rights and unconstitutional, passed laws that subjected the recruiting officers to fine and imprisonment ; and required the State judges to release any such minor or apprentice on application of the parent or guardian. Fortunately the war was soon after brought to a close, and the necessity for enlistments under this oppressive and demoralizing law, was removed.

CHAPTER XLV.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED.

Jackson enters Pensacola.—New Orleans defenceless.—The British land.—Jackson's Measures of Defence.—Battle of New Orleans.—The Distress of the Country and Embarrassment of the Government.—The Relief.—Treaty of Peace.—The Frigate President captured.—Successes at Sea.—War with Algiers.—Treaty with that Power.—Treaty with the Indians.—Financial Disorders.—State of Indiana.—John Fitch.—Robert Fulton.—First Steamboat.

WHEN arranging affairs with the Creeks, General Jackson learned that the Spaniards at Pensacola had welcomed the hostile Indians, and also that a British man-of-war had furnished them with arms. Intelligence of this was sent to Washington, whence orders were transmitted to Jackson to seize Pensacola. That these orders were six months on the way, may illustrate the efficiency with which the War Department was conducted. Meantime some British men-of-war arrived in the harbor, from which a Colonel Nichols landed men and began to enlist the Creeks. Jackson now sent urgent appeals to his favorite Tennessee mounted men to hasten to his aid. The British soon after attacked Fort Bowyer on the east shore of Mobile Bay. The fort was defended by one hundred and thirty men, under Major Lawrence. The vigorous defence soon repulsed the enemy, one of whose ships blew up and the rest were fain to depart. This success encouraged the people of Louisiana and Mississippi in their efforts to defend New Orleans themselves,

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 1814. without depending upon the General Government. Jackson wrote repeatedly to Washington for orders and received none, but when the three thousand Tennesseans, under General Coffee, arrived, he took the responsibility to enter Pensacola and demand that the British should leave the place. He also intimated in emphatic terms to the Spanish governor, that he would hold him responsible for permitting the British to occupy his territory, for the purpose of encouraging the Creeks in their hostility. The British immediately blew up a fort which they had erected seven miles below the town, and took to their ships.

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3. Confident that the enemy designed to direct their efforts against New Orleans, Jackson sent in advance General Coffee to some point on the Mississippi, with the mounted men, while he himself followed, as soon as circumstances would permit. The defences of New Orleans were in a deplorable condition; since Wilkinson left, nothing further had been done to repair them. The city contained nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, not one-half of whom were whites. These were principally of French origin, and others of foreign birth, none of whom were ardently attached to the United States. Jackson hastened to the point of danger. He availed himself of every possible aid; he released the convicts in the prisons, and enrolled them for the occasion; accepted the offered services of Lafitte, the head of the Baratarian buccaneers. He also issued an address to "the noble-hearted, generous, free men of color," to enroll themselves for the defence of their country. To this call, under an act of the Louisiana Legislature, they heartily responded.

While he was thus unprepared, the British fleet cast anchor off the entrance of Lake Borgne. It had on board twelve thousand land troops, besides four thousand sailors and marines. These troops had recently been under the Duke of Wellington, in the Peninsular war, and were commanded by able and experienced generals; Sir Ed-

ward Packingham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, Gibbs, Keene, and Lambert. Three days later, after a severe contest, they captured the entire American flotilla on Lake Borgne. CHAP.
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The Louisiana militia were immediately called out, but they were ill supplied with arms. Some months previous, Jackson, anticipating this very emergency, had urged upon the War Department at Washington to send a supply of arms from the arsenal at Pittsburg. The government agent, unwilling to pay the usual freight on the only steamboat then running to New Orleans, shipped the arms on board keel boats. Thus twenty-five cents on a hundred pounds of freight were saved by the government, and Jackson received the muskets after the battle !

General Coffee had reached Baton Rouge, at which place he received orders to hasten with all speed to the scene of action. With eight hundred of his best mounted men—all unerring marksmen, armed with rifles and tomahawks—he made the extraordinary march of one hundred and fifty miles in two days. Thus, by similar exertions, in the space of a fortnight, Jackson had five thousand men, four-fifths of whom were militia. Other difficulties presented themselves. Owing to the want of co-operation on the part of the legislature, and the necessities of the times, he proclaimed martial law.

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The enemy landed two thousand light armed troops, under General Keene. Jackson marched to meet them with the regulars, and Coffee's men dismounted. Soon after dark the battle began ; the enemy were driven from one point to another, till finally they found protection behind a levee. Good service was done in this conflict by the armed schooner Carolina, which ran in near the shore, and with her guns swept their ranks. This successful repulse of the invaders greatly encouraged the Americans.

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The next day Jackson took a position on solid ground

CHAP. nearly a mile in breadth ; the river protecting one flank,
XLV. and a swamp the other. Though strongly reinforced, the
 1815. British made no attempt the following day to retrieve what they had lost, being deterred by the reports of prisoners, who greatly exaggerated the strength of Jackson's force. This delay was profitably occupied in strengthening the defences ; bales of cotton were used as a rampart, and the ditch was extended to the swamp. Five days after the enemy advanced and drove in the American outposts, and when within half a mile of the ramparts opened with artillery and Congreve rockets. Yet Jackson replied with so much vigor, with his five heavy guns, that after a cannonade of seven hours the enemy withdrew, having suffered considerable loss.

Within three days after this repulse, they made
 Jan. another attack with much heavier artillery. Their move-
 1. ments were concealed by a dense fog, and the intimation of their approach was given only by their cannon balls crashing through the American camp, but Jackson had so strengthened his works, that the British—their guns dismounted and silenced—were again compelled to retire ; but it was to make preparations for a grand assault.

Presently twenty-two hundred Kentucky riflemen
 Jan. arrived ; of whom unfortunately one-half were without
 4. arms, and could not be supplied. These Jackson placed to throw up a second line of intrenchments in the rear of the first line.

When prepared, the British moved to the assault, under the cover of a battery of six eighteen-pounders, which had been erected the previous night. The main
 Jan. column was led by Pakenham in person, intending to
 8. storm the centre, one column moved along the river and carried a redoubt, another, led by Gibbs and Keene, advanced along the edge of the swamp.

As the advancing columns came within range, the American artillery opened upon them with deadly effect,

yet they filled up their ranks and moved steadily on. Presently they reached the range of the Kentucky and Tennessee rifles, which poured in a continuous stream of unerring bullets. The heads of the columns faltered. While endeavoring to rally them, Packenham fell ; Keene and Gibbs were both wounded, the latter mortally. The command then devolved on General Lambert, who made two more unsuccessful attempts to storm the works, but was forced to retire, leaving on the field two thousand men killed and wounded. Jackson had taken the precaution to send General Morgan across the river to throw up intrenchments directly opposite his own. The night previous to the battle, Packenham sent a detachment under Colonel Thornton, who drove Morgan from his position, but when the main body was defeated he took to his boats and hastily retreated.

In this battle the Americans lost seven men killed and as many wounded.

Taking every precaution to guard against surprise, Lambert gradually fell back to the first landing place, and then, in the course of twenty days, re-embarked.

Thus virtually ended the war of 1812. The only battles well fought on land, were those directed by new men called into active service by the war itself. The victories at Lundy's Lane and New Orleans were gained by soldiers who had been trained but a short time, but they were under commanders in whom they had implicit confidence.

Though these successful events were transpiring in that distant region, yet on the Atlantic coast, and at Washington, it was the gloomiest period of the war. Affairs were almost desperate. The treasury exhausted, the national credit gone, the terrible law of conscription, like an ominous cloud hanging over the people, civil discord seemingly ready to spring up between the States ;

CHAP. the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia yet subject to
 XLV. the marauding expeditions of the infamous Cockburn,
 1815. while the inhabitants were crying in vain to the General
 Government for assistance. Nothing favorable had yet
 been heard from the commissioners of peace at Ghent,
 nor even from New Orleans. It was known that a very
 large force of British veterans was in the vicinity of that
 place, and that Jackson was very ill-prepared to meet them.

As a gleam of sunshine in intense darkness, a rumor,
 by way of Canada, proclaimed that peace had been con-
 cluded ; at the same time came another from the south-
 west that the enemy had been defeated. While all were
 tremblingly anxious for the truth of these rumors, late of
 a Saturday night, a British sloop-of-war, the Favorite,
 commissioned for the purpose, arrived at New York,
 Feb. bringing the treaty of peace, already ratified by the
 11. British government. The cry of PEACE ! PEACE ! ran
 through the city. As if by one impulse the houses were
 illuminated, and the citizens, without distinction of party,
 thronged the streets to congratulate each other. In
 the midst of their own rejoicings they did not forget their
 brethren who were yet ignorant of the welcome news, and
 messengers were sent in every direction. In thirty-two
 hours, the express with the tidings reached Boston.
 There the excitement was almost unbounded. The
 people assembled in crowds to hear the news, which had
 so unexpectedly brought relief to their distresses. The
 bells rang their merriest peal, and the schools received a
 holiday. Flags and streamers were soon displayed on the
 vessels which had lain so long idle at the wharf. Before
 night, carpenters and riggers were at work, sailors were
 engaged, cargoes were passing on board ; Boston was her-
 self again in commercial activity. The reception of the
 news was followed by similar rejoicings all along the coast,
 and throughout the country. To add still more to the
 happiness, as well as the gratification of the nation, in a

few days was confirmed the rumor of the total defeat of the British before New Orleans. CHAP.
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The Senate unanimously ratified the treaty within thirty hours after it was laid before them. The President speedily issued a proclamation, announcing the fact, that once more peace reigned throughout the land. A day for thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessing, was observed by the nation. 1815.

Feb.
18.

The treaty provided for the mutual restoration of all places taken during the war; also for determining the northern boundary, and other matters of minor importance were amicably arranged. But not a word was said on the impressment question, for the settlement of which the war had ostensibly been continued after the first two months. Both parties seem to have been heartily tired of fighting; though Great Britain wished to restrain what she thought an alarming grasping spirit in the New Republic, as evidenced in the acquisition of Louisiana and the attempts on Canada.

A few days after the ratification of the treaty, the President recommended to Congress the passage of a law to guard against incidents which, during the periods of war in Europe, might tend to interrupt peace, enjoining that "American vessels be navigated exclusively by American seamen, either natives or such as are already naturalized," thus endeavoring to gain by legislation what could not be obtained by war. Yet one object had been secured—we hear no more of the impressment of American seamen.

Previous to the announcement of peace, the commanders of some of the national vessels determined to evade the blockading enemy and escape to sea. Commodore Decatur, on board the frigate President, commanding the sloops Hornet and Peacock to follow, attempted to evade the blockade of the port of New York. Passing out in the night, after being unfortunately aground for some

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CHAP. hours, in the morning he fell in with the British squadron,
 XLV. by whom he was chased. One of the enemy, the frigate
 1815. *Endymion*, commenced an engagement, but after a running fight, she was effectually disabled, and fain to haul off. The President unfortunately was also crippled, and the other British vessels coming up, Decatur was compelled to strike his colors.

A few days after, the *Hornet* and *Peacock* avoided the blockade, and proceeded to their rendezvous, off the Cape of Good Hope. On her way the *Hornet*, Captain Biddle,
 Mar. fell in with and captured the British brig *Penguin*. The latter was made a complete wreck, and as such was set on fire. The *Peacock* joined her consort, and in company they sailed to the Indian Ocean. The *Hornet* was soon after chased by a British seventy-four, and in order to escape, she was compelled to throw her guns and nearly all her armament overboard, in which condition she returned to New York. The *Peacock*, Captain Warrington,
 June continued on to the East Indies, where she captured
 30. the cruiser *Nautilus*.

The *Constitution*, Captain Stewart, also evaded the blockade off Boston harbor. On a moonlight night she fell in with two war vessels off the port of Lisbon. They prepared to engage, but the *Constitution* manœuvred to keep the wind at about an equal distance from her antagonists. Captain Stewart, seizing a favorable opportunity, directed all his force upon the vessel nearest,
 Feb. which almost immediately struck; then he captured the
 20. other in a similar manner. The prizes proved to be the British sloops-of-war *Cyane* and *Levant*. These captures were all made after the articles of peace were signed.

Soon after the commencement of the war with Britain, the Dey of Algiers, thinking the Americans would have no means of punishing him, renewed his old practice of piracy. Pretending to be dissatisfied with the presents he had received from the American government, he dis-

missed Lear, the consul, threatening to reduce him and his family, and all the Americans in Algiers, to slavery, a fate which Lear escaped by paying a large ransom. Some American vessels were afterward seized by the pirates, and their crews reduced to slavery.

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Two months after the conclusion of peace, an American squadron, under Decatur, consisting of three large frigates and seven other vessels of war, sailed for the Mediterranean. Six weeks later, Bainbridge followed with the Independence, the new seventy-four, accompanied by other war vessels; on the way he was also joined by the Congress frigate. But before his arrival in the Mediterranean, the energetic Decatur had brought the Dey to terms. On the second day after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, he fell in with the largest frigate of the Dey under his high Admiral, on a cruise for American merchantmen. After a fight of less than thirty minutes the Algerine was captured; two days after another cruiser shared a similar fate. When the squadron appeared before Algiers, the intelligence of these disasters, by which he had lost his best ship, and six hundred men, had greatly humbled the Dey. To escape a worse punishment, he gladly submitted to the indignity of signing, on Decatur's quarter-deck, a humiliating treaty. He bound himself to make indemnities for his extortions; to surrender all his prisoners without ransom, and to renounce all claim for tribute from the American government, as well as his barbarous practice of piracy and reducing prisoners to slavery.

May.

June
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Decatur proceeded immediately to Tunis and Tripoli, where he demanded and received indemnity for some American vessels, at whose captures, in their harbors, by the English, they had connived. Thus, in a few weeks, these barbarians were taught a lesson which they have not yet forgotten. When Bainbridge arrived, he found all the difficulties arranged. The united navy, consisting of

CHAP. fourteen vessels, visited the principal ports of the Medi-
 XLV. terranean. Their victories over the mistress of the ocean,
 1815. secured them treatment manifesting high respect.

The autumn following the close of the war, a great council of the North-western Indian tribes was held, at which they made peace with each other. Afterward they all made peace with the United States. Thus apprehensions of future Indian hostilities were removed.

Sept.

The war left the finances of the country in a very confused state. The banks in existence, except those in New England, were unable to redeem their notes in specie, and confidence in their promises to pay was wanting. The national debt, in consequence of the war, was known to be more than one hundred millions of dollars. In order to remove some of the burdens resting upon the people, the Secretary of the Treasury, A. J. Dallas, proposed to remit some of the internal taxes, which had been levied during the last few years. Instead of which he advised the imposition of duties on imports, not merely to secure a revenue, but also to protect the manufactures which had sprung into existence during the war. The President likewise, in his annual message, urged the adoption of such a policy.

To aid in rectifying the financial disorders in the country, Congress chartered, for twenty years, a National Bank, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars. It commenced operations at Philadelphia, and, in connection with its branches in other States, afforded the people a uniform currency redeemable at all times with gold and silver.

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 Mar.
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A bill designed to compel the local banks to pay specie was passed, ordering that all dues to the government should be paid in gold and silver, or "in treasury notes, notes of the Bank of the United States, or in notes of banks payable and paid on demand in specie."

Sept.

The Territory of Indiana having adopted a constitution, presented herself for admission into the Union, and was received.

John Fitch, an uneducated watchmaker of Philadelphia, conceived the design of propelling boats by steam. He applied to Congress for assistance, but, unfortunately, was refused ; then, with a similar result, he applied to the Spanish authorities of Louisiana. Some years later he found means to construct a boat, and to make a trial trip on the Delaware. The boat went at the rate of eight miles an hour, but unfortunately the boiler exploded. One disaster followed another, and poor John Fitch died, the victim of disappointment, but full of faith that others would yet perfect his invention : he desired to be buried on the banks of the Ohio, that boats propelled by steam might pass near his last resting place. In less than twenty years after his death the steamer Clermont passed up the Hudson from New York to Albany.

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The Clermont was the work of Robert Fulton, a native of Pennsylvania, once a pupil of West, the painter. He had a decided turn for mechanics, and had studied the subject many years in Europe, where he received pecuniary aid and encouragement from Robert R. Livingston, then American minister at Paris.

To American enterprise is due the honor of launching the first steamboat and the first Ocean steamer—the Savannah—that crossed the Atlantic. She left New York, went to Savannah, and thence to Europe, where she was an object of great interest. Twenty years later the British steamer Great Western came to New York in fourteen days.

1818

April
1838

Madison's Administration, so full of important events, drew to a close. James Monroe, also from Virginia, had been elected his successor, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, Vice-President. The latter had been Governor of that State, and in that capacity been most efficient in aiding the country in the war just closed. At one time he sustained the garrison of the city by his own private credit.

CHAPTER XLVI.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION.

A Return to the earlier Policy of the Government.—The President's Tour in the Eastern States.—The Colonization Society.—Revolutions in the Spanish Colonies.—Indian War; the Seminoles.—General Jackson in the Field.—Purchase of Florida.—The Missouri Compromise.—Manufactures.—Increase of Tariff.—Visit of Lafayette.

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1817. SINCE the close of the war, party distinctions were fast losing their influence. In the minds of the great majority of the people, names were giving place to ideas. The nation was prepared for the quiet revival of the leading principles of Washington's administration. The people had not in so many words thus formally decided;—but to return to the policy of the earlier days of the Government seemed the only means to remedy existing evils, and to guard against their recurrence in the future. This may be said in relation to the revenue as arising from commerce, the finances, the policy toward foreign nations, and in the means of national defence both by sea and land.

Mar.
4. The new President in his inaugural fully indorsed these doctrines, and they were echoed and re-echoed throughout the land as the true policy, while some of the old Republicans characterized them as being veritable Federalism under another name. The President pointed to the experience of the nation in the last struggle, and unhesitatingly advised not only fortifications on the coast with garrisons, but a navy strong enough to maintain the dig-

nity and neutrality of the United States, as well as protect commerce ; he also recommended that a knowledge of naval and military science should be kept up. In addition, that domestic manufactures be protected by imposts on foreign merchandise, and also, internal improvements be aided by the national government, if such expenditure was in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution.

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Though professing to be much gratified that the party spirit lately so rampant was allayed, the President took good care to appoint none but his most devoted adherents to the offices within his gift. John Quincy Adams was recalled from the court of St. James to become Secretary of State. The other members of his cabinet were William H. Crawford of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury ; Crowningshield of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy ; John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and William Wirt, Attorney-General.

The President, some months after his inauguration, made a tour through the Eastern States. The sentiments of his address had become diffused, and prepared the way for his receiving a warm reception in the Federal town of Boston, and throughout New England generally. It was enthusiastically proclaimed that the people were once more to be harmonious in their views of national policy.

During the following session of Congress the American Colonization Society was formed at Washington. It was designed to provide a home beyond the limits of the United States for the free people of color who should desire to emigrate. The condition of these people in the slaveholding States, as well as the laws in some of the others, that forbade their settling within their borders, led to the formation of the Society. The enterprise was ardently advocated by Henry Clay, Judge Washington, John Randolph, and other southern statesmen. This So-

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ciety established the now flourishing Colony of Liberia on the west coast of Africa.

The influence of the Revolution had not been without effect upon other nations. The Spanish colonies of South America threw off their allegiance to the mother country, and declared themselves independent. Under the pretence of having commissions from these new Republics, a company of adventurers, principally drawn from Charleston and Savannah, seized Amelia Island, off the harbor of St. Augustine. These worthies soon began to smuggle merchandise and slaves into the United States. Yet, as a cloak to their deeds, they proclaimed they were blockading the port of St. Augustine. A similar haunt for buccaneers had existed for some time at Galveston in Texas. Both these establishments were broken up by order of the United States Government.

The condition of the South American republics excited great sympathy in the minds of the people. Some were advocates for giving them aid, while others were anxious that Congress should, at least, acknowledge their independence. In defiance of the President's proclamation to the contrary, cruisers, bearing the flag of these Republics, were fitted out in some of the ports of the United States to prey upon Spanish commerce.

These difficulties, combined with other causes, led to a new Indian war in the South. Numbers of Seminoles, refugee Creeks, and runaway negroes, living in the Spanish Territory, south of Flint river, began to pillage the Georgia settlements north of that river. General Gaines, who was in command at the nearest fort, demanded that these murderers and robbers should be given up. The Indians refused, on the ground that they were not the aggressors. Soon after a collision occurred, in which several Indians were killed. Their death was terribly revenged upon the people on board a boat ascending the Apalachi-

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cola, with supplies for Fort Scott. More than forty persons, consisting of men, women, and children, were massacred. The War Department ordered General Jackson to invade the Indian Territory, and "bring the war to a speedy and effectual close." In three months he was on the ground, with an army composed of Georgians and Tennesseans. He moved to the vicinity of where Tallahassee now stands; the savages made little resistance, but abandoned their towns, and their cattle and grain. With his usual energy, Jackson pressed on, and, without ceremony, seized St. Mark's, on Appalachee Bay, the only Spanish fort in that part of Florida, on the ground that its officers were aiding and abetting the Indians in their hostilities to the United States. One of the American armed vessels on the coast hoisted British colors, and two of the hostile Creek chiefs were decoyed on board. These chiefs Jackson unceremoniously hanged. On one of the incursions against the enemy, two British subjects, Robert C. Ambrister and Alexander Arbuthnot, traders among the Indians, were taken prisoners. These two men were put on trial for their lives before a court-martial, on the charge of aiding the Indians. They were found guilty and sentenced to death, and immediately executed. The measure was much censured as unnecessary and unwarranted. Notwithstanding the protest of the Spanish governor against his invasion of Florida, Jackson soon appeared before Pensacola, which place surrendered. The governor in the mean time fled to a fort further down the bay, and finally to Havana.

These arbitrary proceedings were protested against by Don Onís, the Spanish Minister at Washington. The matter however was not pressed, as negotiations were soon after entered upon to purchase the territory in dispute.

American citizens had claims amounting to five millions of dollars against the Spanish government. Don Onís received instructions from home, that authorized

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CHAP. him to cede Florida to the United States for these claims
 XLVI. The purchase was thus made, the American Government
 1821. assuming the debt. Two years later Spain ratified the Treaty. Florida was then organized as a Territory, and General Jackson was appointed its first Governor.

The American people have never been indifferent to the political as well as the moral aspects of slavery. From the adoption of the Constitution till the time of which we write, the conscience and the sympathy of the religious portion of the nation, both North and South, found their expression on the subject in memorials addressed to their ecclesiastical assemblies, whose resolutions in reply condemned the system.

1787. The Continental Congress legislated specially on the subject in adopting the ordinance by which the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi was consecrated to freedom. During the second session of the First Congress, petitions were presented to that body, praying it to take measures to free the nation of the system. The committee to whom these memorials were referred, reported that Congress was not authorized by the Constitution to interfere with slavery as existing in the individual States. In accordance with this view, that body has ever acted, when disposing of the numerous memorials on the subject that have, from time to time, been presented to it.

The Northern States, for a quarter of a century, had been gradually freeing themselves of the institution, or making provision to that effect, while in the Southern States a different sentiment had been on the increase. The acquisition of Louisiana had given to them a vast region in which slave labor was profitable, especially in the cultivation of cotton. These antagonist opinions were suddenly brought into collision, and a strong sectional feeling was elicited.

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 Feb.
 16.

The territory of Missouri asked permission to form a

constitution, preparatory to her admission into the Union as a State. When the question was before the House of Representatives, James W. Tallmadge, a member from New York, proposed to insert a clause, prohibiting the further introduction of slaves into the territory, and also another clause granting freedom to the children of slaves already there, when they should attain the age of twenty-five years.

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After a spirited debate both these propositions were adopted. The day following the passage of this bill came up a similar one to organize the Territory of Arkansas. This bill, after a strenuous effort to insert similar clauses, was finally passed without any restriction as to slavery.

The States admitted into the Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, had happened to come in alternately as non-slaveholding, and as slaveholding—Vermont and Kentucky ; Tennessee and Ohio ; Louisiana and Indiana ; Mississippi and Illinois. As Alabama had applied for admission as a slave State, it was urged that Missouri should be admitted as free. This proposition soon lost its force by the application of Maine, the north-eastern part of Massachusetts, presenting herself to be admitted as a free State. Here was an offset to Alabama, leaving Missouri to make the next slave State.

In the consideration of these bills the subject of slavery restriction in the territories came up for discussion. The members from the Southern States insisted that any restriction upon Missouri would violate the pledge given to the inhabitants of Louisiana, at the time of its purchase, that they should enjoy “all the privileges of citizens of the United States ;” that such a restriction would eventually interfere with State rights ; that the citizens of slaveholding States had the right to take their property into the territories of the Union. It was urged that it would be an act of humanity and a blessing to the poor slave, whose lot was so hard in the old exhausted

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1819. States, to transfer him to the fertile plains of the west ; that this would only be the diffusion of the system, but not its extension, as the number of slaves would not be increased thereby ; and that the prohibition of slavery would diminish emigration from the South into the territories.

To these arguments it was replied : it was true that Congress was forbidden by the Constitution to interfere with slavery in the original thirteen States, but that this did not apply to the territories. They were the property of the Union, and Congress had the control of their organization. Would Congress be justified in spreading over them an institution which even its advocates on the floor of the house had again and again deplored as an evil ?

It was contended that slave labor and free labor could not coexist on the same soil ; and should the introduction of a few thousands of slaves exclude millions of freemen from the territories ? ¹

The debate was conducted with great animation, mingled with much bitterness, and threats to dissolve the Union. The intense excitement was not limited to the National Legislature ; it extended throughout the country, and it was by no means diminished by the speeches made on the subject on the floor of Congress, nor by the fact, which the discussion revealed, that during the previous year more than fourteen thousand slaves had been smuggled into the United States, from Africa and the West Indies.

The legislatures of some of the Northern States expressed their wish that slavery should not go beyond the Mississippi, while the people held conventions and memorialized Congress. Opposite views were as strongly expressed by some of the Southern States. Thus the country was agitated for nearly two years, and the diffi-

¹ The Debates in Congress, Niles's Register, Vols 16, 17, and 18.

culty was still unsettled. When the bill came before the Senate, Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois moved as an amendment, a clause forbidding the introduction of slavery into the Louisiana Territory north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude, and west of the proposed State of Missouri. This was the line of the famous Missouri Compromise. The House, however, would not at first agree to this arrangement ; but finally, through means of a committee of conference, Maine was admitted, and Missouri, on these conditions, after she should adopt a constitution.

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The following year, when the constitution of Missouri was presented to Congress, it was found to contain a clause that prohibited free people of color from settling in the State. Though this clause “was adopted for the sake of peace—for the sake of internal tranquillity—and to prevent the agitation of the slave question,”¹ yet it was viewed far differently in Congress, and was the occasion of opening the restriction question with all its bitterness. The insertion of the offensive clause, under the circumstances, seemed to manifest as little regard for the Constitution of the United States, as respect for the opinions of those opposed to the extension of slavery. The citizens of any one State were, by the Constitution, entitled to the privileges of citizens in the other States. Free people of color were thus recognized in some of the States, but by this clause they were deprived of their rights. Another committee of conference, of which Henry Clay was the prime mover, was appointed by the Senate and House of Representatives. The difficulty was again compromised by which Missouri was to be admitted on the express condition that she would expunge the obnoxious clause, and then the President was authorized to admit her by proclamation. The Missouri Legislature complied, and the fact

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. i. p. 8.

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Aug

was communicated to the President, who proclaimed his admission to the family of States. Thus the slavery agitation was allayed for a time, but the same question, under different phases, has returned again and again, and will no doubt continue thus to do till the conscience of the nation is fully satisfied on the subject—for questions involving the moral and political relations of so many millions cannot be lightly passed over.

Mar.
1822.

A new interest was awakened in behalf of the South American Republics. Great efforts had been made by Henry Clay, during their struggle, to induce Congress to acknowledge their independence, but it was then thought premature ; now the bill was passed. The next year the President declared in his message that “ as a principle the American Continents, by the free and independent position which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power.” This has since been known as the Monroe Doctrine, though its authorship, it would seem, belongs rather to his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams.

Great financial distress prevailed during this period throughout the land. The immense amount of foreign, especially English, merchandise sent, at reduced prices, into the country, paralyzed its industry. These goods were thus sent for the express purpose of ruining the American manufactures, called into existence by the necessities of the war—an object which they effectually accomplished. The distress of the people, reacted upon the general government. When they refused to buy, because unable to pay, the importations fell off, and as a consequence, the revenue was so diminished that the government, from necessity, resorted to loans in order to obtain means of defraying its current expenses. The general distress was not a little increased by the measures of the National Bank. Indeed no confidence could be

placed in the banks except those of New England, which redeemed their notes in specie when presented, while those in other parts of the Union became bankrupt. The density of the population of the New England States enabled them to engage with advantage in manufactures, and also in shipping, and the coasting trade, which was especially profitable. For these reasons they withstood the financial crisis, while the agricultural and manufacturing interests of the other States were overwhelmed.

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The country, by its own innate energy, began to recover from these financial difficulties. As a means to accomplish that desirable object, an increase of tariff was imposed on imported merchandise, thus to protect domestic industry from undue foreign competition, to create a diversity of pursuits, and develop the resources of the nation.

Congress also manifested its sense of justice by making provision for the wants of the surviving officers and soldiers of the Revolution, and for the widows and orphans of those deceased.

1818.

The last year of Monroe's administration was signalized by an event highly gratifying to the people, an event linking the past with the present, the days of conflict and trial with the days of peace and prosperity. The venerable Lafayette came to the United States, the invited guest of the nation. Around every fireside tradition had fondly cherished his memory, and the people loved him as the noble and generous stranger who, in the days of their fathers, had sacrificed his fortune and shed his blood in their country's cause. They vied with each other in doing him honor. His journey from State to State was one continued triumphal procession; compared with this spontaneous expression of a nation's gratitude, how insignificant the proudest triumph of Roman consul or emperor! The vessel designated to carry him home was the new frigate *Brandywine*, a name—given by the new President, John

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1825. Quincy Adams—that conveyed a delicate compliment, as on the banks of that little stream he was wounded in his first battle in the cause of American freedom. The American people wished to manifest still further their sense of obligation, and Congress conferred upon him two hundred thousand dollars and a township of land.

When the time came to choose a successor to Monroe—now in his second term—four candidates were put in nomination ; John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, General Jackson, and William H. Crawford. No one of the candidates received a majority of the popular vote, and the election devolved upon the House of Representatives, by whom Adams was chosen. John C. Calhoun had been chosen Vice-President by the popular vote.

This election gave the death-blow to the custom of nominating candidates for the Presidency by a caucus held by certain members of Congress. Previous to this, for twenty-four successive years, the candidates had been thus nominated, and consequently chosen from a single State.

CHAPTER XLVII.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

Manufactures and Internal Improvements.—Indian Lands in Georgia.—
Death of the ex-Presidents Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.—Free
Masonry.—Protection to American Industry.—Debates in Congress.—
Presidential Contest.

THE new President invited able and experienced men to form his cabinet, at the head of which was Henry Clay, as Secretary of State. This administration was one of remarkable prosperity; the nation was gradually advancing in wealth and happiness, gaining strength at home, and securing more and more of the respect of nations abroad. Every branch of industry was increasing in prosperity; agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.

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Numerous companies had been formed for the purpose of making iron nails, and also for the manufacture of broadcloths, though the latter were soon involved in ruin by "a deluge of English cloths." In those days fine wool was worth a dollar and a half a pound, while badly made broadcloth cost from eight to twelve dollars a yard.

1815

The wars of Europe opened a wide field for enterprise in the carrying trade. American genius and art produced the style of ship known as the clipper. These far outstripped all others in sailing; they made rapid voyages, and, what was important in those days, they were able very often to evade the French and English cruisers. At first, the United States had but little of their own products

CHAP. XLVII. to send to the old world, but presently Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, by which the seed was separated from the cotton, and that gradually became the most important article of export.

The great National Road—the work of the General Government—extending across the Alleghany Mountains, from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, on the Ohio, and to be continued to the Mississippi, had just been completed, at an expense of one million seven hundred thousand dollars. It was commenced in Jefferson's administration, and had been fourteen years in building. Its beneficial effects upon the country were very great, in thus connecting the valley of the Ohio with the seaboard.

A still more important work was also finished—the Erie Canal, uniting the Hudson and the waters of the great lakes. It was the work of the State of New York, and was completed after a labor of eight years. The project was at first deemed visionary and impracticable; but owing principally to the energy of De Witt Clinton, privately, as well as a member of the Legislature and as Governor, the work was carried through. The completion and success of these improvements encouraged the construction of others in various parts of the Union—one, the Ohio Canal, from Lake Erie to the Ohio river. The first railway was the Quincy, in Massachusetts, designed to transport granite to the sea-shore. The first locomotive used in the United States was on the Hudson and Mohawk Railroad.

A difficult question arose in relation to the removal of the Creeks and the Cherokees, from their lands in Georgia and Alabama, to the region beyond the Mississippi. Georgia claimed jurisdiction over the Indians within her territory. Originally claiming the region west of her boundary, she ceded it to the United States, on condition that the latter should, by purchase, extinguish the title

of the Indian lands reserved within her own limits. The national government promised to fulfil its part of the agreement "as early as the same could be peaceably obtained on reasonable terms." Twenty-five years had passed, and these titles had not been purchased. The Indians were not willing to sell their territory. However, a treaty had been recently made by some of the chiefs, who ceded the lands, but the great majority of the Indians declared these chiefs had no authority to sell the property of the nation. Thus, according to the original contract, the national government could not extinguish the Indian titles.

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1825

The government cancelled this treaty, but the State of Georgia determined to enforce it. The latter sent surveyors into the Indian country, to divide the lands into portions suitable for farms, before distributing them by lottery to the citizens of the State. The Federal government took the part of the poor Indians, and the President proclaimed that he would enforce the laws committed to his trust, while Troup, the bellicose Governor of Georgia, wrote to the Secretary of War: "From the first decisive act of hostility, you will be considered and treated as a public enemy." The matter for the present was adjusted by the Creeks consenting to dispose of their lands, and to emigrate. Rather than be thus harassed they were willing to remove from their happy homes, and give up their hopes of civilization.

This year was marked by the deaths of two distinguished men, whose names are identified with the history of the government—John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Both were men of liberal education, and both chose the profession of the law; both had been consistent and strenuous advocates of national independence, and were upon the committee which proposed that famous declaration. The one drew it up, and the other was its most efficient supporter; both signed it; both had been

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on foreign missions ; both were first Vice-Presidents, and then became Presidents. "They ended their earthly career at the same time and in the same way ; in the regular course of nature, in the repose and tranquillity of retirement, in the bosoms of their families, on the soil which their labors had contributed to make free," and within a few hours of each other, on the fiftieth anniversary of American independence.

Sept. A certain William Morgan, of Western New York, a member of the society of Free Masons, suddenly disappeared, he having been seized and forcibly carried off. He had proposed to publish a book revealing the secrets of the order, some of whose members were charged with his murder. The affair created a great excitement, which led to the formation of a political party, whose avowed object was to exclude Free Masons from office. In several of the States the party polled a large number of votes, but in a year or two it disappeared.

July, 1827 The manufacturing interests were still laboring to sustain themselves against foreign competition. The sentiment prevailed, especially in the northern States and in some of the southern, that measures should be taken to protect the industry of the nation. In accordance with this view, a convention of delegates from twenty-two States of the Union assembled at Harrisburg, in Pennsylvania. Four of the slave States did not send delegates.

The Convention memorialized Congress to grant protection to American industry ; to impose a tariff on imported goods, sufficiently high to shield American producers of the same articles from the ruinous effects of foreign competition ; and they also asked that this policy should be fixed, and thus give stability to the enterprise of the country. Capital would not be invested in domestic manufactures, if they were liable at any time to be ruined either by the combination of foreign competitors

or by change of policy at home. The people of New England had complained of these changes. Their climate and soil forbade their becoming rivals of their sister States in agriculture, and their industry had been turned into other channels, especially those of commerce and the fisheries. Upon them had fallen nearly all the losses inflicted by the cruisers of France and England, and yet they had been more discouraged and had suffered more loss by the embargoes and other restrictions of their own government. During this period, the central position of New York had been gradually drawing to herself much of the commerce and shipping that once belonged to Boston. A territory so extensive, and climates so diverse, brought into existence many kinds of industry that were liable to be injured or ruined by foreign competition. At first New England was opposed to the policy of protection, and the Middle and Southern States were in its favor. Now this was reversed. New England had been forced to adapt her industry to the change of national policy, while the South had changed her views.

Said Webster, when this bill was under discussion in Congress: "New England held back and labored to restrain the General Government from the adoption of this policy, but when it was adopted she then adapted herself to it, and turned herself to manufactures, but now just as she is successful, another change is to be brought about, and she set adrift in another direction."

The South, on the other hand, expected to reap the harvest, not merely from the exports of the raw material, but also a due share of the profits arising from manufactures. She was disappointed in seeing northern towns becoming cities, and southern cities decaying; the North a money lender, the South a borrower. Before the Revolution she was pre-eminently the richest part of the colonies, a position which she fully expected to retain after that period. Hers were the only exports from the

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land ; the North was dependent upon commerce and fisheries ; both precarious. Since the Revolution, the South had exported more in value than three times all that the mines of Mexico had produced for the same period, yet she did not prosper. This effect she attributed to the protective tariffs of the National Government. She failed to notice that this decline began before these tariffs were imposed. Other causes aided in the result.¹ A bill passed Congress, imposing higher duties upon cottons and woollens, and also other foreign articles, which would come into competition with those of domestic origin. The dissatisfaction felt in South Carolina led, two years after, to the open avowal on her part, of the doctrine of nullification and secession, based upon the ground that the act was unconstitutional.

The contest for the office of President was between Adams and General Jackson. The "era of good feeling" had passed away, and party lines were stringently drawn. The spirit of the contest was more violent than ever before ; and the whole nation seemed moved to its very centre. The denunciation of the candidates and their principles was, on both sides, unjust, unreasonable and disgraceful. The choice fell upon Jackson as President, and Calhoun as Vice-President. The election over, the excitement calmed down. This fact, as usual, was adduced as an evidence of the stability of our institutions, and of the willingness of the people to submit to the will of the majority. Yet who does not lament such exhibitions of party strife, or their demoralizing effects ?

The nation had never been in a condition so prosperous as at this time. The national debt was much diminished, and a surplus of more than five millions of dollars was in the public treasury. The blessings of peace had been showered upon the land, and it was rejoicing in prosperity and abundance—the rewards of active industry.

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Chap. xxxiv., Vol. I.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Appointments to Office.—Removal of the Indians from Georgia.—Bank of the United States.—Hayne and Webster's Debate.—Nullification.—The Compromise Bill ; its final Passage.—Removal of the Deposits.—Effect upon the Country.—Indian Wars.—Black Hawk ; Osceola.—Indemnity for French Spoliations.

THE new President nominated the members of his cabinet, at the head of which he placed Martin Van Buren as Secretary of State. The Postmaster-General was now for the first time admitted as a Cabinet Officer.

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The President professed to take the Constitution as the chart by which he should be governed in fulfilling the duties of his office ; rather, it would seem, as he himself understood it, than as expounded by the Supreme Court of the United States. His vigorous arm was immediately exerted in favor of his political friends, and this gave to his administration a decided partisan character. The former Presidents, during a period of forty-four years, had removed sixty-four persons from office ; during his rule of eight years, Jackson removed six hundred and ninety, and put in their places his political friends. These sweeping removals secured ardent partisans, as well as produced bitter opponents ; but regardless of either friend or foe, the President pursued the course he had marked out, with his wonted determination.

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1829.

During his administration, an unusual number of exciting questions came up for consideration, and the many interests thus involved affected the people in every State in the Union. The first important measure, was the removal of the Cherokee Indians from the State of Georgia. They had been protected by the General Government, under Adams. The Supreme Court of the United States had decided in their favor, and against the action of the State ; but that decision had little influence with the President. He did not rebuke the State, when she began to drive them from their homes, and to distribute their lands, many of them cultivated farms, among her own citizens. He sent General Scott with troops to remove them, and his kindness and persuasions induced them to migrate peacefully ; yet with lamentations, they took leave of "the beloved land."

1833

Their sacrifices as a people were very great, not only in the loss of property, but in the check given to their industrial and moral progress. The self-denying labors of missionaries and teachers had enabled them to advance rapidly toward a Christianized civilization. They derived their sustenance from their own cultivated fields ; they clothed themselves almost entirely with the fabrics which their women spun and wove ; they lived in settled habitations, some of wood and some of brick ; they made provision for the education of their children—five hundred of whom were in schools—besides endowing a National Academy for the youth further advanced. They also established a newspaper, printed partly in English, and partly in their own language. "We hope," said they, "that with God's blessing the time will soon come when the words war-whoop and scalping-knife will be heard no more."

Two of their missionaries, the Rev. S. A. Worcester and Dr. Elisur Butler, were ruthlessly imprisoned in the penitentiary by the authority of the State of Georgia,

though they acted in accordance with the law of the land, as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States, in refusing to take the oath of allegiance to the State. CHAP.
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Chief Justice Marshall, in pronouncing the opinion of the court, declared the act of the State to be "repugnant to the Constitution, treaties and laws of the United States; and therefore void, and ought to be reversed and annulled," and the prisoners discharged. Yet these men obtained no redress on their appeal to the General Government, either for themselves or the Indians.

When at length liberated from prison, the missionaries accompanied the Indians to their distant homes beyond the Mississippi, there to labor for their good.

The President, in his first message to Congress, intimated his hostility to the Bank of the United States, and his design of refusing his signature to any bill renewing its charter.

However, when the stockholders of the Bank applied to Congress, a bill to renew its charter passed both Houses, and the President refused to sign it. He gave as a reason his opinion that Congress had no constitutional authority to charter such an institution, and moreover he deemed it inexpedient to continue the Bank.

As the bill could not obtain the requisite two-thirds vote to become a law, the Bank was forced to close its affairs, when its charter should expire. 1836.

To understand the causes which led to the attempt at Nullification by South Carolina it is necessary, for the reader's convenience, to notice in a consecutive form certain influences that had been at work from the commencement of the government under the Presidency of George Washington. When the Constitution of the United States was submitted to the people for their approval or rejection, objections were made to it by a small minority, principally on the ground that its powers 1788.

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1787.

were too great over the States. This minority consisted mostly of statesmen belonging to Virginia, two of whose delegates to the convention to frame the Constitution refused to sign it when finished. These were Edmund Randolph and George Mason, with only one other, Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts. These gentlemen, and those who sympathized with them in their views, made strenuous efforts in several of the States to prevent the acceptance of the Constitution by the people, nor even after it was adopted and the Government inaugurated did they cease in their opposition, though they were unable to have the organic law of the nation changed to suit their views. They were now joined by the most efficient opponent of certain principles of the Constitution—Thomas Jefferson—who had been in France on official duties while the Constitution was being framed and acted upon by the votes of the people; but he had since returned, having been invited by President Washington to enter his Cabinet as Secretary for Foreign Affairs or of State, which office he was now holding.

The Constitution says (Article VI.): "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land." Some of the States, in order to establish a National Government, were unwilling to give up scarcely any portion of the sovereignty which they had hitherto exercised.¹ This was especially the case in the Southern States—Virginia, the principal one, taking the lead. This opposition in later times developed into *extreme views* in relation to State Rights or Sovereignty, whose insidious influence has wrought so much harm to the Nation, in assuming that in some way, though indefinable, the General Government would injure the individual States. The advocates of this theory—"strict construe-

¹ Hist., pp. 564, 565.

tionists" they called themselves—were morbidly suspicious of the National Government, and were continually deprecating its influence upon the States. In accordance with their interpretation, the Constitution would be as inflexible as a cast-iron frame; no permission was given for that instrument—so comprehensive in its principles—to adapt itself to the exigencies of a nation industrious and progressive in its development. Hence the habit of these theorists to exclaim "Unconstitutional!" whenever measures were proposed in Congress that would in their influence extend to the States; for that body to charter a bank was deemed unconstitutional, because, perhaps, in being useful to the general commerce and the industries of the country, it must have branches at commercial centers within the States. Their views were similar in respect to internal improvements made by the National Government.

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On the subject of the United States Bank the opposition in this respect came principally from Virginia and those States further south; they being nearly altogether agricultural, there was not so much necessity for a medium of mercantile exchange as in the more commercial and manufacturing free States.

We have already seen Thomas Jefferson¹ secretly exerting his influence against the policy of Washington's administration, and to which he was presumed to be friendly, at least, while holding the most important position in the Cabinet—that of Secretary of State. Instead, he encouraged opposition to its most important measures, which, from their intrinsic merits, have since become the fixed policy of the nation. He stimulated this antagonism in various ways, but principally by diffusing his sentiments privately in letters to his friends, under pledges of secrecy, and by means of the Democratic clubs, whose

1801.

¹ Hist., pp. 581, 582.

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1801.

origin has been noted.¹ Though Vice-President at the time, Jefferson was not in perfect accord with the policy of John Adams's administration, in its efforts to defend the country against the machinations of foreign refugees,² who, with the clubs, wished to embroil the country in the wars then in progress in Europe. Says Albert Gallatin, when writing of this period, "I know that nothing can be more injurious to an administration than to have in that office [Vice-Presidency] a man in hostility to that administration, as he will always become the most formidable rallying-point for the opposition."³

At one time Jefferson was greatly exercised lest the Government should become a monarchy; and some of his friends professed to be alarmed because the people *honored* Washington's birthday, but he soothingly suggested the *theory* that, perhaps, the day was celebrated as that of "a General and not of a President." Yet he was desponding; in one of his letters he says, "The State governments are the best in the world," but that of the United States "has become so arbitrary in the rapid course of nine or ten years, and has swallowed up more of the public liberty than even that of England itself." This paragraph alludes to what is known as the "Sedition Law," which was enacted to punish libel on the Government, or the exciting of "unlawful combinations against the laws." This law,⁴ which expired in two years by limitation, was directed in self-defense against a class of foreign adventurers, who as writers in the newspapers were most abusive in denunciation of the administration of John Adams,⁴ which, in respect to the policy of neutrality, followed that of Washington. The law itself, perhaps, was injudicious, and in its brief existence could do little harm, but the political furor—bordering on the

¹ Hist., p. 583.

² Hist., p. 594.

³ Life of Gallatin, p. 606.

⁴ Hist., pp. 592, 593.

ridiculous—which it occasioned among its opponents is not paralleled in American history.

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1798.

To remedy these supposed evils, Jefferson drew up a series of resolutions embodying sentiments that have been often alluded to in our history ; these are familiarly known as the “Resolutions of '98.” He managed to have them introduced into the Legislature of Virginia, and passed by that body, though their most objectionable features were modified through the influence of James Madison. In the same secret manner he had similar resolutions passed by the Legislature of the recently admitted State of Kentucky. This was accomplished by one of his friends, a Mr. Nicholas, a native of Virginia, but who at this time was a citizen of the new State and a member of its Legislature. It was not known for twenty years that Jefferson was the author of these resolutions, as he had the “solemn assurance that it should not be known from what quarter the resolutions came.”¹ These resolutions were sent to the Legislatures of several of the States, and the political principles they endeavored to disseminate elicited much discussion, but little favor from these bodies. Their influence was to show itself in future years. John C. Calhoun was consistent when he characterized Jefferson as “the Apostle of State Rights;”² that is of the *extreme view*, since all advocate the legitimate rights of the States under the Constitution, just as municipal rights of cities chartered by State authority ; but that does not imply that these municipalities should dominate the State itself.

1799.

The eighth of these resolutions announces the theory that “where powers are assumed” (alluding to the United States Government) “which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the rightful remedy ; that every

¹ Randall's Life of Jefferson, vol. ii., p. 448.

² Works, vol. ii., p. 268.

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State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify of their [its] own authority all assumptions of power of others within their [its] limits.”¹ On the principles thus enunciated South Carolina determined to “nullify” a United States law, because she of her own authority decided that a tariff, said to be protective to American industry, was “unconstitutional,” and thirty years later in a more serious effort to “nullify” the union of the States.

There seems to have been an impression on the minds of great numbers of the American people that the operatives in large factories in Europe were peculiarly degraded as to their morals, and that the temptations to vice were very great in such establishments. It was also added that this was specially the case in the mills for manufacturing cotton and wool, as in these, the work being comparatively light, females and boys were much employed. This was given as one reason why the system of such manufacturing should not be introduced into the United States. Measures, however, were taken to prevent such evils, and when mills were founded at Lowell and afterward at Lawrence, Mass., special efforts were made to secure the influence of pure morals among those employed.

In Lowell the corporation or owners, to prevent evil influences in their mills, provided comfortable boarding-places for the young women, usually farmers' daughters, who were in their employ. These boarding-houses were under the control of worthy and judicious matrons selected for the purpose, and to whose protection the parents in the vicinity were willing to intrust their daughters. These young people had been educated in the public schools, and had acquired a taste for reading;

¹ Randall's Life of Jefferson, vol. ii., p. 450.

to meet this demand the owners provided libraries and reading-rooms; to the latter the operatives also contributed to cover incidental expenses. At one time the young women who worked in the mills issued a periodical, "The Lowell Offering." These facts show the moral tone and mental requirements of a community that would demand proper guaranties before the parents would permit their young people, especially their daughters, to labor in the cotton and woolen mills of the day. In nearly all of the earlier mills founded in New England similar efforts were made to protect and elevate those whom they employed. A change has been in progress, and the reading-rooms and libraries are not so well attended as formerly; the native employees have given way to foreigners, who, unfortunately, care not so much for reading and mental improvement.

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1822.

1881.

A great advancement was made in the process of manufacturing cotton by the energy of Francis C. Lowell of Boston, who conceived the idea of using water-power in the various operations. He visited Europe and examined the machinery used there, especially that in the mills of England, but to obtain models of which he found impossible, as their machinery was carefully watched lest it should be copied, and he was compelled to depend upon his memory and his own inventive genius. The policy of England in that day, in relation to preserving the secrets of her machinery, was virtually the same as it was forty years before.¹ With the aid of a practical mechanic, Mr. Lowell constructed machinery according to his own designs. This was crude indeed, but he contrived to put in motion 1,700 spindles in a small mill at Waltham, Mass. Here under the same roof cotton was carded, spun, and woven; and it is said to

1813.

¹ Hist., p. 578.

CHAP. have been the first mill in the world in which all the
XLVIII. operations of that manufacture were performed.

1822.

Mr. Lowell, from time to time, made improvements in his machinery, and so great was his success that a few enterprising gentlemen formed a company, and at a certain point purchased the land along the banks of the Merrimac, thus securing its entire water-power. On this purchase now stands the flourishing city of Lowell—thus named in honor of its indefatigable projector. Here was inaugurated on a firm basis the American system of manufacturing cotton. Within a dozen years from that time there were nearly 800 cotton factories—some of these were very small—in the Union; 738 were in the Free States, and of these 508 were in New England alone.¹ From that time forward the increase has been enormous.

1816
to
1826.

During this period the industry of printing calicoes was carried on but in a crude form; since then it has grown to large proportions under the influence of American inventions and improvements. At that time four colors was the highest number impressed at one movement; this has since been increased to twenty.

The war of 1812 threw the American people upon their own mechanical resources to furnish themselves the needed manufactured articles, which for the greater part had hitherto been supplied by the workshops of England. During this period of about three years the native ingenuity in the invention and application of machinery to manufacturing purposes of various kinds developed rapidly. The war itself afforded sufficient protection from the skill of England and the low wages paid her operatives. In less than two years after the restoration of peace and the renewal of trade the American manufacturers found themselves utterly ruined by the immense

¹ Industrial Hist. U. S., p. 412.

influx of English merchandise, which had been accumulating for years, and was now thrown upon the American market at prices sometimes even below their original cost. The English merchants had two objects in view: one to stifle the manufacturing industries that had received an impulse during the war, and the other to keep permanent control of the American market. This they hoped to accomplish by means of English skill and the low wages paid their workmen. The latter item gave the foreigner an immense advantage, as the American must pay higher wages because of the much fewer number willing to be thus employed.

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to
1826.

The statesmen of that day, who had far-reaching views, saw that the alternative was either to abandon the policy of advancing the mechanical industries of the people altogether, or counterbalance the advantages of the European manufacturer in his skill and the low wages paid his operatives. They chose the latter policy. This was to impose a tariff sufficiently high to equalize the cost of production and enable the American manufacturer to compete with the European on equal terms, and at the same time to afford an opportunity for employment to those of our own people who worked for wages; to introduce diversities of industry, and develop the natural resources of the country, even then supposed to be enormous.¹

When the question of revising the tariff came before Congress some of the "strict constructionists" suggested that the Constitution authorized a tariff for "revenue alone;" that is an imposition of duty in such a manner as to produce the most revenue to the Government, and it would seem without reference to the industrial interests of the people. A question arose which has puzzled Congress ever since: "Where does the rate of a tariff for

1816.

¹ Natural Resources of the United States, by J. Harris Patton.

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1816. 'revenue alone' terminate, and that for 'protection' begin?" On this occasion John C. Calhoun of South Carolina argued that a tariff sufficiently high to protect the industries of the people was constitutional, saying, "manufactures ought to be countenanced by the Government," and "they will arrive at a certain perfection under its fostering care;" and he urged Congress to "afford to ingenuity and industry immediate and ample protection." Afterward in the days of Nullification he said, "I, in common with the almost entire South, gave my support to the tariff of 1816."¹ Senator George McDuffie of the same State, in speaking of this tariff, says, "I most perfectly accord in the policy which dictated that measure." James Madison wished the commercial laws revised to "protect and foster the several branches of manufactures." "The *constitutionality* of the procedure is not at all thought of, the *expediency* of it is warmly recommended."² With this understanding a tariff was imposed upon coarse cottons, woolens, and many other manufactured articles, which tariff was amended from time to time during twelve years. This had ever been the national policy; the first tariff imposed by Congress and signed by Washington in its preamble says it was required, "for the support of the Government, and for the encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures."
- 1789.

- During the war of 1812, to cover the unusual expense, and to supply the deficiency caused by the falling off of import duties which had nearly ceased altogether, taxes were imposed on many home-made articles. It was now proposed to relieve the people of these burdensome taxes on their own manufactures, and supply the deficiency by increasing the duties on the corresponding foreign-made articles. Thus the object was twofold: to raise the
- 1816.

¹ Works, vol. ii., pp. 166-170.

² Niles Reg., vol. xxxvi., p. 82.

needed revenue, and to encourage domestic industry; of this policy Henry Clay was the ardent advocate. In accordance with this a tariff was imposed on certain classes of articles; "1st, those of which a full domestic supply could be produced; 2d, those of which only partial domestic supply could be afforded; and 3d, those produced at home very slightly, or not at all."¹

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1816.

The cotton-growing States "at that time had a particular interest in encouraging the domestic manufacture of cotton." Such were the views of Calhoun and Lowndes, of South Carolina—the latter reporting the bill to Congress. A heavy duty was imposed on woolen and cotton cloths of various grades; also on iron in all its forms, on spirits, on sugars—the latter to encourage the Louisiana sugar-planter; on hemp and lead to aid the Kentucky farmer and the Illinois miner. The proposed duty on indigo unfortunately failed, as that article was a valuable product of the low lands of South Carolina and Georgia.² Neither the cereals nor raw cotton needed protection—the latter staple having virtually the monopoly of the world, both as to quantity and quality. After the acquisition of Louisiana the southern portion of the country was deemed by many the richest portion of the Union in its agricultural products—cotton, tobacco, and sugar; the first especially, since the invention of the cotton-gin, had become greatly enhanced in value as a most important export. This theory seemed to pervade the minds of some of the leading men of that section.³ So little did these statesmen know or even suspect of the inherent though thus far latent power of intelligent and industrious communities as those in the Free States, where labor as such was reckoned respectable. This power was wonderfully developed, when manufactures

¹ Hildreth, vol. vi., p. 585.

² Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, vol. i., p. 97.

³ Hist., p. 624.

CHAP. were introduced into these States under the "fostering
XLVIII. care" of the legislation of 1816 and onward.

1816. It was then supposed the slaves could be taught to manufacture the coarser grades of cotton cloth, with which they themselves were for the most part clothed. It was therefore important to the masters to introduce that manufacture among the employments of their slaves, who could thus have work through the entire year. But after a few years of trial it was found that from their ignorance, want of perseverance, and lack of interest in their work they were inefficient in manufacturing cotton; they could only hoe and pick it, and that under the harsh supervision of overseers. Similar measures failed to succeed in the factory, where more intelligence and skill were required. Hence the complaints made against the tariff (in Nullification times), that it ruined the South or cotton-producing States.¹ This statement does not seem correct in the light of facts, for the decline commenced many years before.² It is also inconsistent with statistics which show that in 1815 the coarse cotton sheetings, with which the slaves were mostly clothed, cost *forty* cents a yard—being made chiefly on hand looms—while a better material in 1829 cost but *eight and one-half* cents, thus cheapened by the advance made in manufacturing by machinery.³ Meanwhile the fall in the price of raw cotton was only about two-fifths as much as that of the woven material—this advantage accruing to the planter. A writer⁴ states that at this time (1829) "The cost of a good cotton summer suit for a field hand, taking six yards, was seventy-five cents, and that a winter suit of negro cloth cost three dollars;" other expenses were at an equally low rate. Yet the Nullifiers proclaimed

1829.

¹ See Hist., p. 723, for opinions of McDuffie and Hayne.

² Benton's *Thirty Years' View*, vol. i., p. 101.

³ *Industrial Hist. U. S.*, p. 414.

⁴ *Niles Register*.

that their section was ruined by tariffs, and they entered upon a crusade against any policy that aided the mechanical industries of the country. This was on the ground that such aid was unconstitutional.¹ The protest of South Carolina pronounced protective duties "*Unconstitutional, oppressive, and unjust.*" As the tariff, however low, is to that extent a protection to the American manufacturer of the same kind of article, it would follow from this that *Free Trade* alone was *constitutional*. By a similar process of reasoning, extremists among the slave-owning statesmen argued that the best social condition was for the capitalist to own those whom he employed; in other words, that "all laborers should be slaves." Such were the views of John C. Calhoun and George McDuffie, and others. The motives that influenced the minds of these legislators were radically different. The statesmen of the Slave States, from the nature of the case, had reference alone to the advantages that would accrue to the masters; while those of the Free States had reference as much to that large class who obtained their support from wages as to the capitalist who invested his money in manufacturing industries.

At the commencement of the war of 1812 England was buying our raw cotton and sending it back in the form of cloth made by machines driven by steam, while at that time in the United States were very few, perhaps no factories for weaving cotton-cloth,—the mill at Beverly having failed. There were in the country a few small mills for spinning cotton yarn, and the weaving was done by hand on domestic looms; hence this product was termed "domestics."

Our statesmen then desired to encourage the manufacture of cottons and woollens in all their forms; but to do so the people must contend with the acquired skill

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¹ Debates in Congress, vol. x., pp. 243-245.

- CHAP. and machinery of England, and the low wages paid her
 XLVIII. operatives. The same causes gave an impulse to the
 1816. manufacture of woollens, though this industry remained
 for a long time in the hands of the household. Not till
 1816 and onward was a definite impetus given to the
 manufacture of woollen goods in its varied forms. The
 supply of native wool was not sufficient, and to obtain
 which great exertions were made to induce the farmers
 to raise sheep for its production. To secure the finest
 quality merino sheep were imported from Spain, and
 wool-growing became an important industry. The
 pioneer woollen mills only wove the yarn spun in the
 household in the vicinity. Carding and fulling mills
 came into existence to aid and complete the domestic
 1820. manufacture, and finally in the course of years the work
 was performed, or nearly so, under the same roof by
 means of machinery. The advance, however, was not so
 rapid in the woollen as in the cotton manufacture. The
 States of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Con-
 necticut took energetic measures to advance the manufac-
 ture of wool. Vermont became the producer of the
 finest wool in New England, yet it remained for another
 1851. State—Tennessee—to exhibit the finest specimen wool
 at the first World's Fair at London.

Our manufacture of wool has come oftener than any
 other of our industries in competition with the skill and
 the low wages paid operatives in England, Belgium, and
 France, and in consequence has had unusual difficulties
 to overcome.

- 1816 The depression in the industrial interests of the coun-
 to try after the war of 1812 was very great. Henry Clay
 1820. estimated the property of the United States to have sunk
 in value one-half in the course of four years. This esti-
 mate was no doubt in respect to the States outside New
 England. The people of that section by their industrial
 enterprise and economy had secured success in many

respects, especially in their shipping interest, including the carrying trade between foreign nations during the wars of Napoleon, the coasting trade of their own country, the fisheries along their coasts, and for whales in the Arctic seas. In consequence of this accumulation of capital their finances were in a good condition, and their banks were sound and able to redeem their notes in specie when presented at their counters, while in the rest of the Union financial distress more or less prevailed.

The term protection is unfortunate, inasmuch that many are led astray, thinking that those who manufacture were protected or aided by the Government at the expense of the other portion of the people. The term is a misnomer; it should be designated an *equalizing measure*, designed to put our own workmen and those who employ them on equal terms as manufacturers with the foreigners, who have the advantage in acquired skill, low rate of interest on capital, and more than all, in the small amount of wages paid their operatives. Making the terms thus equal to the manufacturers of both lands, if the American, by means of his energy and mechanical inventions, and the better education of his workmen in industrious habits, is more successful, he and the people have a right to the advantages thus acquired. The "strict constructionists" thought Congress had no authority to levy a tariff so as to equalize the expense of manufacturing in the United States with that in Europe.

Senator Foote of Connecticut submitted a resolution of inquiry as to the disposal of the public lands. The debate on the resolution took a wide range, in the course of which the young and brilliant Senator, Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, avowed the opinion that any State had a right, as a sovereign power, to declare null and void any act of Congress which that State deemed unconstitutional. This was the first time that the doctrine of *nullification*

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had been openly maintained in the councils of the nation—the sentiments rather of Calhoun the Vice-President than of the speaker himself: a doctrine based upon the assumption that the National Government was a compact between the States, and that any of them could at pleasure recede from the Union.

Daniel Webster at once pointed out the injurious results to the Union if these principles were acted upon.

This debate, continued for several days, and not only from the masterly manner in which it was conducted, but from the influence it exerted upon the minds of the American people, was one of the most important that ever occurred in the Halls of Congress. Webster clearly exposed the fallacy of the argument adduced to prove that the National Government was a compact of sovereign, independent States; or that any of them were at liberty to withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the others. On the contrary, he urged that the Constitution was the work of the people themselves, not as members of each independent State, but as members of all the States; and that the Supreme Court was the tribunal authorized to decide in cases of conflict between the States and the General Government. Says the venerable Chancellor Kent in reference to the discussion, and especially Webster's speech: "It turned the attention of the public to the great doctrines of national rights and national union. Constitutional law was rescued from the archives of our tribunals and the libraries of our lawyers, placed under the eye, and submitted to the judgment of the American people." And heartily did they respond to the sentiment that the "Union must be preserved." The importance of the subject awakened an intense interest in the nation, and the reports of the discussion were read and commented upon by millions. This debate really settled the question of nullification; and its influence upon the public mind

created a moral power which gave a death-blow to the dangerous design then in existence.

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Congress, in revising the tariff, instead of diminishing, increased the duties on many articles. This gave still greater offence to the cotton-growing States, who complained, that they in consequence paid exorbitant prices, especially for cottons and woollens. The question became in some respects a sectional one. The North on the one hand had accommodated her industry to manufactures ; she had acquired skill, and was unwilling to sacrifice this and also an immense amount of invested capital. She thought it unjust that her interests should be injured, if not ruined, by a change of the policy under which she had been compelled to turn her attention to that particular sphere of industry. On the other hand, the South, pointing to her exhausted fields, especially in the Atlantic States, and their diminution of population, exclaimed : See what the tariff has done ! Says McDuffie of South Carolina, on the floor of Congress : “ Look, sir, at the present aspect of the Southern States. In no part of Europe will you see the same indications of decay. Deserted villages, houses falling to ruin, impoverished lands thrown out of cultivation.” The reason that the South did not derive benefit from the imposition of a tariff was admitted by Hayne himself. “ The slaves,” said he in the Senate, “ are too improvident, too incapable of minute, constant, delicate attention, and the persevering industry which is essential to the success of manufacturing establishments.” Similar sentiments were expressed by other members of Congress.

July.

The States of Virginia, Georgia and South Carolina were the most opposed to the measure, but only the latter took the responsibility of openly resisting the collection of duties imposed by this law of Congress. She published an ordinance to that effect, and denied the authority of

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the General Government to enforce what she deemed an unconstitutional law.

1833.

The President immediately issued a proclamation, moderate in its language but determined in tone. In plain terms he expressed his views upon the subject, and intimated that he would vindicate the power intrusted to his hands. He appealed "to the understanding and patriotism of the people of the State, and warned them of the consequences that must inevitably result from obeying the dictates of the convention," which had advised resistance to the law.

Feb.
11.

Previous to this, Calhoun had resigned the vice-presidency, and now appeared in the Senate in the place of Hayne, who had retired to take the office of Governor of South Carolina, and who now replied to the President by a counter proclamation. He warned the people of the State against "the dangerous and pernicious doctrines" in that document, and called upon them to disregard "those vain menaces" of military force, "to be fully prepared to sustain the dignity and protect the liberties of the State, if need be, with their lives and fortunes."

Nothing daunted, South Carolina proclaimed herself hostile to the Union, and resolved to maintain her rights as a Sovereign State, by organizing troops and providing munitions of war. Meantime her Legislature passed laws which forbade the collection of United States revenue within her boundaries; and intimated that if an attempt was made by the General Government to enforce the collection of such duties, she would exercise her right to secede from the Union, and "forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." The attitude of the State was imposing and resolute. But the President was equally as decided in his measures to enforce the laws. Soon a national vessel, with troops on board, appeared in the harbor of Charleston; they came to aid the officers in the collection of the revenue. The State receded from

ber defiant position, and the storm calmed down ; the famous Tariff Compromise, just passed by Congress, furnishing a convenient reason for that act of prudence.

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Henry Clay was the principal author of the measure, and to him belongs the honor of introducing it into the Senate. The Compromise consisted in gradually diminishing for ten years the imposts, till they should arrive at a uniform rate of twenty per cent.—the revenue standard for which the opponents of the tariff contended.

Mar
3.

The secret history of the final passage of that Compromise bill in the Senate is singular. Its opponents had denounced the principle of protection to American industry, as unconstitutional. In order to prevent opposition to the bill on that ground, after it had become a law, it was necessary that those opposing it should be induced to vote for it ; to vote, not only for the bill as a whole, but for its separate articles. The crisis was near. The President had determined to enforce the law ; he scouted the idea of compromise, and stood ready to arrest the leaders, especially Calhoun, and bring him to trial for treason. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, privately gave the parties to understand that he should move to lay the bill on the table, where it should lie, unless the nullifiers should one and all give it their individual support. He assured them that there was a sufficient number of senators (whose names he refused to give), to prevent its passage, if this condition was not complied with. The amendments to the bill had all passed but the last ; the one which embodied the principle of home valuation. This Calhoun and his friends opposed with great vehemence. Clayton moved to lay the bill on the table, and no persuasion could induce him to withdraw the motion. The opponents of the measure withdrew from the hall for a few minutes, to consult. One of their number presently returned and requested Clayton to withdraw his motion, to give time to consider the amendment. He consented,

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Mar.
8.

with the understanding that, if necessary, he would re-
new it. That night, consultations were held by the
Southern members. The next day, when the bill was
under consideration, it was intimated that it could be
passed without the aid of Calhoun's vote. But Clayton
was inflexible—his vote must be given for the bill, or
nothing would be secured by it. It was the last day of
the session—another Congress would not meet for months.
It was a solemn hour. If the impending collision be-
tween the State and the Government should occur, who
could tell what would be the result? How could South
Carolina be extricated from the difficulties of her position?
Calhoun remained to the last, his friends one by one
voting for the amendment. After making a few remarks
on the conditions upon which he should act, he also voted
for the amendment, and afterward for the bill as a whole.¹

On the fourth of March, General Jackson entered
upon his second term of office, with Martin Van Buren, of
New York, as Vice-President. The principal opposing
candidate was Henry Clay.

According to its charter, the Bank of the United
States was the legal depository of the public funds. The
Secretary of the Treasury only, with the sanction of
Congress, had authority to remove them. By resolution,
Congress had expressed the opinion that the public
moneys were safe in the keeping of the Bank. The
President thought differently. When Congress was not
in session, he made known to the Cabinet his intention to
remove the public funds from the custody of the Bank,
and to transfer them to certain State Banks. The
majority of the Cabinet were opposed to the measure.
As he could not reach the money except through the
Secretary of the Treasury, William J. Duane, he directed

¹ Thirty Years' View, Vol. i. Chap. lxxxv.

him to remove the deposits; but the Secretary viewing the measure as "unnecessary, unwise, arbitrary, and unjust," refused. The President immediately dismissed him from office, and appointed Roger B. Taney, afterward Chief Justice, in his place, who hastened to issue an order to the collectors, forbidding them to deposit the public moneys in the Bank of the United States. The intention being to withdraw the funds already in its possession, as they should be needed in defraying the current expenses of the government.

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Oct.

The measure spread distrust through the whole mercantile community, and destroyed that confidence which is essential to the success of business transactions. The notes of the Bank were at par throughout the Union, but now the whole system of exchange was thrown into confusion. Universal distress prevailed. The wages of daily laborers were especially depressed. Memorials from all parts of the country poured into Congress, asking it to adopt measures that would give relief. After a time, the State banks endeavored to relieve the monetary distress by liberal loans. These loans, in turn, were the occasion of exciting a spirit of speculation that produced still greater evils.

The Administration was not exempt from Indian troubles. Some of the north-western tribes, led by Black Hawk, a chief of the Sac nation, made incursions against the frontier settlements of Illinois. The government sent troops, under General Atkinson, who soon, with the aid of the militia, drove the savages beyond the Mississippi. In one of the skirmishes, Black Hawk himself was captured. To impress him with the greatness of the nation, he was first taken to Washington, and then to visit the principal eastern cities.

1832

Two years afterward an attempt was made by the government to remove the Seminole Indians beyond the

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- Mississippi River. They refused to emigrate, and another Indian war was the consequence. Skulking through the swamps and woods of Florida, the savages would suddenly dash into the settlements to murder and destroy. Many valuable lives were thus lost. Among these were Major Dade, and more than a hundred men, who all perished by falling into an ambushade. On the same day, the United States' agent, Mr. Wiley Thompson, and five of his friends were killed and scalped by Osceola, the leading chief of the Seminoles. The year before, Thompson had injudiciously offended the savage, by confining him in irons for a day. Though he feigned friendship, his proud spirit thirsted to revenge the insult. The Creeks joined the Seminoles, and attacked several villages, both in Georgia and Alabama. The unhealthy vapors of the swamps, the bites of poisonous snakes and insects, inflicted intense sufferings upon the troops. It was impossible to subdue the Indians, who, after their attacks upon the Whites, would retreat to their hiding-places in the swamps. Led by Osceola, the war, or rather skirmishing, continued for years; the troops were baffled again and again. At length his own policy, of making treaties only to break them, was practised upon himself. One day he appeared under a flag of truce at the American camp. General Jessup, who was in command, immediately made him prisoner, with all his followers. Osceola was sent to Charleston, and while there confined in Fort Moultrie, a fever terminated his eventful life.

- Colonel Zachary Taylor, afterward President of the United States, was sent to succeed Jessup. Taylor, by great exertions, brought the war to a close, but not till it had lasted altogether seven years, and cost the nation many lives, and thirty millions of dollars.

During this administration, died John Marshall, one of the most remarkable men of the time, at the age of four-score. He had served in the army of the Revolution,

and won the esteem of Washington ; had been a member of the House of Representatives, Secretary of State, Secretary of War, and Minister to France. President John Adams nominated him Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, over which for thirty-five years he presided "with native dignity and unpretending grace." His solidity of judgment, his reasoning powers, his acute and penetrating mind, were remarkable, and none the less striking were the purity of his Christian life and his simplicity of manner.

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XLVIII
1836.

The maxim of foreign policy acted upon by the President was "to ask nothing but what was right, and to submit to nothing that was wrong." American merchants had claims, amounting to five millions of dollars, against the French government. They had remained unsettled for twenty years. These indemnities were for "unlawful seizures, captures, and destruction of vessels and cargoes," during the wars of Napoleon. The government of Louis Philippe acknowledged their justice, and by treaty engaged to pay them. But the Chamber of Deputies, at different times during three years, refused to appropriate the money. The President sent a message to Congress, recommending reprisals upon French property if the treaty was not complied with. The French Chambers took offence at the tone of the message, and although Congress had not acted upon its suggestions, they refused to pay the money unless the obnoxious proposal was withdrawn. This brought another message, in which the President reviewed the difficulties existing between the governments. Said he : "Come what may, the explanation which France demands can never be accorded ; and no armament (alluding to a French fleet then on our coast), however powerful and imposing, will, I trust, deter us from discharging the high duties which we owe to our constituents, to our national character, and to the world." He suggested to Congress to prohibit the entrance of

CHAP. French imports into our ports, and the interdiction of
 XLVIII. all commercial intercourse.

1836.

The Chamber of Deputies soon after paid the money to satisfy the claims and fulfill the treaty.

Equally successful was the President in arranging other difficulties of long standing; claims for similar seizures and spoliations against Spain, Naples, and Denmark. Also treaties of commerce and friendship were negotiated with Russia and the Ottoman Empire—the first American treaty with the latter power.

Two States, Arkansas and Michigan, were added to the Union; the original thirteen had now doubled.

Nov. After a spirited contest Martin Van Buren, of New York, was elected President by the people, and Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky, Vice-President, not by the electoral vote, but by the Senate.

General Jackson's administration will ever be memorable for its measures and for its influence. The nation was greatly agitated by conflicts of opinion in relation to his official acts, since he professed to be governed by the Constitution, *not* as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court, but as he *himself* understood it—a disrespect for constituted law which in after years was not without malign influence. He introduced extensively¹ the vicious system of removing persons from minor offices for political purposes alone, filling their places with partisans. From that day this custom has been a corrupting element in the nation's politics. Arbitrary in the extreme, he had quarrels with his Cabinet for reasons unworthy the record of history. Though intensely patriotic, and not famed for legal acquirements, he had little respect for law or decisions of courts if they did not coincide with his own notions and prejudices; but his energy and determined will enabled him to carry his points in defiance of opposition and established usages.

¹ Hist., p. 705.

CHAPTER XLIX.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

Apparent Prosperity.—The Specie Circular.—The Surplus Funds.—Suspension of Specie Payments.—Speculation.—Special Session of Congress.—The Sub-Treasury.—State Indebtedness.

THE last year of Jackson's administration appeared to be one of very great national prosperity. The public debt had been cancelled two years before, and there were nearly forty millions of dollars of surplus. This prosperity was fallacious in the extreme.

CHAP.
XLIX.

1837.

The State Banks, called in derision the "Pets," with whom the deposits had been placed, loaned money freely, with the expectation that they should continue to have the use of the public funds until they were called for by the Government. That time seemed to be distant, as its revenue was greater than its current expenses.

Other banks sprang into existence, until the number amounted, throughout the land, to seven hundred and fifty. These institutions had very little gold or silver in their vaults, as a means to redeem the notes with which they flooded the country, giving a fictitious value to every thing that was bought or sold. They rivalled each other in affording facilities for the wildest schemes of speculation.

The public lands became an object of this speculation, until the sales amounted to millions in a month. Two acts—the one of the late President; the other of Con-

CHAP XLIX
 1837. gress—combined to hasten the crisis. President Jackson, in order to restrain the undue sales of the public lands, had issued, through the Treasury Department, an order known as the Specie Circular, requiring the collectors at the offices to receive only gold and silver in payments for land. Six months later, Congress passed a law to distribute among the States the government funds, on deposit in the banks. They were thus forced to call in their loans to meet this demand, while the Specie Circular arrested the circulation of their notes, and brought them back to their counters, to be exchanged for gold and silver. Within six months after this distribution was ordered, the business of the whole country was prostrated : all improvements ceased, and twenty thousand laboring men were, within a few weeks, thrown out of employment in New York City alone, where the failures amounted to one hundred millions of dollars, while those of New Orleans were as great in proportion, being twenty-seven millions.

July, 1836.
 May. A few weeks later, the banks of New York City suspended specie payment ; an example which the other banks of the country hastened to follow.

Previous to the suspension of payments, a large and respectable committee of merchants of New York visited Washington, to lay before the new President the state of the country. Similar representations went from almost every section of the land. The President denied the request of the committee to rescind the Specie Circular, but proposed to call a Special Session of Congress, on the first Monday of the following September.

The extent to which speculation raged seems almost fabulous. The compromise tariff had nearly run its course, and the duty arrived at its minimum ; foreign merchandise was imported in unheard-of quantities, thus ruining domestic industry ; internal improvements, because of the facility in obtaining loans, were projected to an extent almost without limit ; the public lands were bought by

the millions of acres, and cities and villages were multiplied on *paper* by hundreds ; and stranger still, the sites of these prospective cities, divided into lots, were frequently made the basis of money transactions.

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XLIX.

1837.

A few months before, the General Government was free from debt, and had a surplus of forty millions. Now the surplus had been given to the States ; the importers had neither gold nor silver to pay duties, and the Government itself was deprived of the means to defray its current expenses.

When Congress assembled, the President made no suggestion as to the manner in which the commercial embarrassments of the country might be relieved, on the ground that the General Government was unauthorized by the Constitution to afford such relief. He was therefore in favor of the people taking care of themselves. The message contained, however, two recommendations ; one the issue of Treasury notes, to relieve the Government's own embarrassments, the other an Independent Treasury for the public funds. The object of the latter was to avoid the liability of loss by depositing the public moneys in banks. These treasuries were to be located at suitable places ; the sub-treasurers to be appointed by the President, and to give bonds for the proper fulfilment of their duties.

Sept.
4.

The measure was opposed, lest the withdrawal of so much gold and silver from circulation would injure commercial operations. The bill failed in the House, though it passed the Senate. Three years later it was established ; the next year repealed—then re-enacted, five years after, and is still the law of the land.

The Legislatures of many of the States became imbued with the spirit of speculation, and as a means to obtain loans, issued State stocks to the amount of one hundred millions. This was done under the laudable pretext of developing their resources, by internal improvements.

CHAP. XLIX. Eight of the States failed to pay the interest on these loans or stocks. In time they recovered from the shock, and but one of them, Mississippi, and one territory, Florida, repudiated their debt and defied their creditors. These loans were principally obtained in Europe, where, on the subject of these failures to pay, great indignation was expressed. The whole nation was dishonored ;—two years later, when the National Government wished to obtain a loan, her agents could not induce a capitalist in all Europe to risk a dollar in such investment.

As the administration of Van Buren drew to a close, the financial condition of the country did not much improve. However, his party nominated him, as well as Vice-President Johnson, for a second term. The opposing candidate was William Henry Harrison, of Ohio, whom we have seen as a popular general of the north-west during the last war, as well as filling many civil offices with honor to himself and profit to the country. On the same ticket was John Tyler of Virginia, as the candidate for Vice-President. Harrison was elected by a very large majority. The commercial disasters of the country were generally attributed to the interference of the Government with the currency ; this belief had caused a great revolution in the public mind.

CHAPTER L.

HARRISON AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Inauguration.—Death of Harrison.—Tyler President.—Sub-Treasury Act repealed.—Bankrupt Law.—The Bank Charters; their Vetoes.—Proposition to treat with Great Britain.—Insurrection in Canada.—The Caroline.—Trial of McLeod.—Boundary Disputes in Maine.—Lord Ashburton.—Treaty of Washington.—Questions of Visit and Impression.—Exploring Expedition.—Texas Colonization; struggles.—Independence.—Siege of Goliad and the Alamo.—Davy Crocket.—Massacre of Prisoners.—Battle of San Jacinto.—Houston President.—Question of Annexation in Congress.—Texas Annexed.—Disturbances in Rhode Island.—Iowa and Florida become States.

An immense concourse of people, many of them from distant parts of the Union, assembled at Washington to witness the inauguration of General Harrison. His address on that occasion was replete with wisdom; liberal and generous, and patriotic in its tone; a transcript of the sincerity of his own heart. His selection of officers to compose his Cabinet was unanimously confirmed by the Senate; at its head was Daniel Webster, as Secretary of State.

The certainty of a change of policy in the measures of the General Government inspired confidence in the commercial world, and the nation, made wiser by adversity, began to hope. But the expectations of the President's friends were doomed to be sadly disappointed. His first official act was to issue a proclamation, calling a special session of Congress, to meet on the 31st of the

CHAP
L.

1841
Mar.
4.

CHAP. following May, to take into consideration the condition of
L. the country. Before that day arrived, the President was
1841. no more. Suddenly taken ill, all human remedies failed
April. to give relief, and he expired, just one month after his
inauguration, in his sixty-ninth year. For the first time,
death had removed the Chief Magistrate of the Union
when in office. The loss came home to the hearts of the
people. Throughout the length and breadth of the land
they vied with each other in doing honor to his memory.
Since the death of Washington, the nation had not
mourned a loss with such imposing ceremonies. This deep
and pervading sentiment of sorrow was the tribute due the
memory of a good man ; one who had served his country
with most scrupulous integrity for more than forty years ;
whose whole life, public and private, was without reproach.
Though in public office the greater part of his life, his
salaries had passed away in charities and hospitalities ;
to his house the humblest of the land as well as the most
exalted, had been welcomed ; the poor man's friend, he
himself died poor. At its very first session after his
death, Congress, "out of consideration of his expenses in
removing to the seat of government, and the limited
means which he had left behind," granted his widow one
year's presidential salary—twenty-five thousand dollars.

JOHN TYLER.

May
31. The Vice-President became the President, according
to the provisions of the Constitution. He retained the
Cabinet of his predecessor, giving them assurances of his
respect. Congress convened for the extra session at the
time designated. One of its first measures was to repeal
the Sub-Treasury act of the last administration. To
this regulation for the keeping of the public funds much
of the pressure in the money market was attributed.

The failures in the mercantile world had brought ruin

upon thousands of upright and enterprising men. They had become hopelessly bankrupt, in many instances, by circumstances beyond their control ; involved in debts, which would forever crush their energies without benefitting their creditors, themselves, or the country. To relieve persons thus insolvent, Congress passed a general bankrupt law. The effect of the measure was beneficial, and when the necessity for its existence had passed away, it was repealed.

CHAP.
L.

1842

One of the issues involved in the last presidential election, was the policy of establishing a United States Bank or "Financial Agent," which should facilitate mercantile exchanges throughout the Union. The result of the election had shown that the majority of the people were in favor of such an institution. In compliance with this expression of the popular will, both Houses of Congress passed a bill chartering such a National Bank. Contrary to expectation, the President refused to give it his signature. Another bill was passed, modified in its provisions to accord with his own suggestions. This he also refused to sign. These successive vetoes raised a terrible storm of indignation against their author, though when nominated he was known to be opposed to the United States Bank. The great party, by whose votes he held his high position, charged him with double dealing ; with betraying the trust they had committed to his hands. The members of his cabinet immediately resigned their places, and gave to the country their reasons for so doing. Daniel Webster alone remained, lest the public interests would suffer by his withdrawal before the completion of certain negotiations upon which he was then engaged.

Between the United States government and that of Great Britain two important questions of controversy remained unadjusted. One growing out of certain revolu-

CHAP. tionary disturbances along the Canada borders ; and the
 L. other in relation to the north-eastern boundary between
 1842. the State of Maine and the British province of New Brunswick. The former of these had been pending during the previous administration, the latter for fifty years.

Soon after entering upon his duties as Secretary of State, Mr. Webster, with the sanction of the President, intimated to the British Minister at Washington, that the Government of the United States was desirous to arrange the boundary dispute by agreeing on a line by compromise, or convention. The proposition was received in the friendly spirit in which it had been given, and the British ministry deputed Lord Ashburton, as special minister to the United States, with full powers to settle
 1837 all points of controversy between the two governments.

During the first year of Van Buren's administration the people of both the Canadas endeavored to throw off their allegiance to England, and to declare themselves independent. This movement enlisted the sympathies of great numbers in the neighboring States. In northern New York associations were formed, called "Hunters' Lodges," whose object was to aid the patriots. These illegal combinations flourished in spite of the efforts made by the President and the Governor of New York to suppress them.

About seven hundred of these "sympathizers," with some of the patriots, took possession of Navy Island, in Niagara river, near the Canada shore, to which province it belonged. Thither the steamboat *Caroline* was employed in transporting men, arms, and provisions from Schlosser, on the American shore. The British authorities determined to destroy this boat. Accordingly a detachment was sent on a dark night in December for that purpose ; the officer in command not finding the boat at Navy Island, as expected, passed over to Schlosser, where she was moored at the dock. He captured the boat, and in

the short struggle which ensued, an American was killed. CHAP.
 The Caroline was taken out into the middle of the stream, L.
 there set on fire, and left to pass over the falls in a blaze. 1837.
 The British Minister at Washington, Mr. Fox, immediately avowed the act, and justified it on the ground that it was done in self-defence. This avowal changed the aspect of the controversy—it was now between the governments. The excitement was by no means allayed, nor the activity of the “lodges” diminished. Three years 1840.
 afterward a still stronger feeling of hostility sprang up between the two countries. A certain Alexander McLeod, a British subject, living in Canada, it was rumored, had boasted of being at the taking of the Caroline, and also that he himself had killed the American. McLeod visited the State of New York at the time just mentioned, the authorities of which immediately arrested him on the charge of murder. The British government demanded his release, unconditionally, on the ground that he was obeying the orders of his government, which alone was responsible. The State refused to relinquish, either to the National Government or to Great Britain, her right to bring the prisoner to trial, for the crime it was alleged he had committed on her soil. The trial came on, and McLeod was acquitted, he having proved that he was not present at the affray at all. In order to prevent, for the future, clashings of State jurisdiction with that of the National Government, Congress passed a law requiring similar cases to be transferred to the United States courts.

While these events were in progress in the State of New York, difficulties, equally ominous, were brewing on the north-eastern boundary. The inhabitants on either side undertook to say where the line should be ; as they could not agree, the more belligerent were in favor of fighting, and consequently some trifling collisions took place. The Legislature of Maine even appropriated money for the defence of her territorial rights—and further

CHAP. collisions were prevented only by the conciliatory and judicious policy of General Scott, who was sent by the President to maintain the peace.
L.
1840.

These disputes so long unsettled, very greatly disturbed the harmony existing between the two nations. The correspondence between their governments shows that at this time the controversy had assumed a serious and delicate character, and that it required the exercise of great wisdom, and a mutual conciliatory spirit to prevent actual war.

When negotiations commenced, commissioners from the States of Maine and Massachusetts were invited to Washington, that they might be consulted on the subject. The treaty was soon concluded. The United States obtained the navigation of the river St. John's to its mouth, and the very important military position—Rouse's Point, at the outlet of Lake Champlain. In exchange for these were given a small territory of swamps, heath, and rocks, and barren mountains, covered with snow the greater part of the year. A territory valuable to Great Britain only because it enabled her to make a direct road from the province of New Brunswick to the St. Lawrence. Both nations were benefited by the arrangement, and the vexatious question of more than half a century's standing was amicably settled.

Another article provided for the mutual rendition of fugitives from justice ; but only those who had committed acts which would be deemed criminal in the country where they had taken refuge. This important measure has given general satisfaction to both the contracting parties, and has served since as a model for similar treaties between some of the European powers. The two governments also agreed to maintain each a certain number of armed vessels on the coast of Africa to aid in suppressing the slave-trade.

After the treaty was concluded two important sub-

jects unexpectedly came up for discussion. One was the right assumed by British cruisers to visit, and if necessary search, merchant vessels belonging to other nations. In a letter to the American minister at London, and designed for the English secretary of Foreign Affairs, Webster denied the "right," and sustained his opinions against its exercise by arguments that have not yet been invalidated.

CHAP.
L.

1842.

The other subject was the impressment of seamen by British cruisers from American merchant vessels. In a letter to Lord Ashburton the Secretary of State assumed that it did not comport with the self-respect of the United States to enter into stipulations in relation to the right of impressment ; as if for a moment the existence of such a right could be admitted. On the contrary—that the exercise of impressment should be deemed an aggression and repelled as such. In an able and conciliatory discussion he pointed out the inconsistency of such a right with the laws of nations. Yet in the happiest language expressed the desire that for the welfare of both countries, all occasions of irritation should be removed. He announced as the basis of the policy of the United States: "Every merchant-vessel on the high seas is rightfully considered as a part of the territory of the country to which it belongs ;" that "in every regularly documented American merchant-vessel the crew who navigate it will find their protection in the flag which is over them," and that "the American Government, then, is prepared to say that the practice of impressing seamen from American vessels cannot hereafter be allowed to take place."¹ In the same just and conciliatory spirit was the reply of Lord Ashburton.

An apology was impliedly given for the invasion of the territory of the United States in the "affair of the *Caroline*." The negotiators conferred informally upon the subject of the northern boundary of Oregon, but for the

¹ The Works of Daniel Webster, vol. vi. p. 325.

- CHAP. present agreed to postpone its settlement. The treaty of
 L Washington marks an important era in our history :—the
 1842. time when the United States took that position among
 the nations, to which they were entitled by their power
 and influence. Four years after, Webster said on the
 floor of the Senate :—" I am willing to appeal to the
 public men of the age, whether, in 1842, and in the city
 of Washington, something was not done for the suppres-
 sion of crime, for the true exposition of public law, for the
 freedom and security of commerce on the ocean, and for
 the peace of the world ? "

- The government had not been forgetful of the ad-
 vancement of science. It sent out an exploring expedi-
 1838. tion, under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United
 States navy, accompanied by a corps of scientific men, to
 make discoveries in the Antarctic and Pacific oceans.
 After four years it returned bringing the results of inves-
 1842. tigations in Natural History, not valuable to our own
 country alone, but to the world. It sailed ninety thousand
 miles, seventeen hundred of which were along the coast
 of a great Antarctic Continent never seen before by civil-
 ized man.

The four years of this administration was a period
 fruitful in measures, destined, in their remote consequences,
 to have a varied and almost unlimited influence upon the
 nation. A more important question never came before
 the Houses of Congress, than when the young Republic
 of Texas presented herself at their doors, and asked to be
 annexed to the Union. She came offering a fertile ter-
 ritory almost sufficient in extent to make five such States
 as Pennsylvania or New York. The "annexation," led to
 the Mexican war, and that in turn to the acquisition of
 California.

The region known as Texas had been claimed, but on
 doubtful grounds, as a part of the already purchased ter-

ritory of Louisiana. This claim was, however, waived, and when Florida was obtained Texas was tacitly admitted to belong to Spain, and when Mexico revolted from the mother country, she became one of the confederated States which formed the Mexican republic. CHAP.
L.
1842.

The American who originated the plan of colonizing Texas, was Moses Austin, a native of Durham, Connecticut. He was engaged in working the lead mines in upper Louisiana, when, in his explorations, he became acquainted with the fertile soil and delightful climate of Texas. The Spanish Government encouraged immigration to that part of the Mexican territory, and it gave Austin large grants of land, on condition that he would introduce as colonists three hundred Catholic families from Louisiana. Within a month after these arrangements were completed, Austin himself died, but appointed his son Stephen F. Austin to superintend the planting of the colony according to the agreement with the Spanish government. To his energy and perseverance may be attributed the success of the enterprise. 1813.

Little was known at Mexico of what was in progress in that remote region. The Americans, attracted by the liberal grants of land and the fine climate, were pouring in. In a few years they numbered twenty thousand, very few of whom were Catholics, nor did they all come from Louisiana, but from the other Southern and Western States. 1830.

Meantime in Mexico other great changes were in progress. First came the revolution by which she declared herself no longer under the jurisdiction of Spain. This was succeeded by a confederation of States. In that unhappy country one revolution succeeded another in rapid succession, till finally, Santa Anna, overthrowing the existing republic, made himself dictator and tyrant of the people. During this time the Texans did not revolt, nor 1821

CHAP. did they acquiesce. They formed a constitution, and
L. sent Austin to Mexico to ask admission into the con-
1835. federacy of the republic as a State. This request was de-
nied, and their messenger thrown into prison. Still Texas
retained her State officers, and asked that her rights might
be respected ; when an armed Mexican vessel appeared
off the coast, and proclaimed that her ports were block-
aded ; near the same time a Mexican army appeared on
her western borders, with the intention of arresting her
State officers, and disarming the inhabitants. It was
much easier to demand the Texan rifles than to get them.
Sept. The attempt was made at a place named Gonzales, where
28. the Mexicans met with a severe repulse. The Texans,
though few in number, flew to arms throughout the entire
country, and in a few months drove the invaders from
their soil, and captured and garrisoned the strong forts of
the Goliad and the mission house of Alamo. Thus they
manfully resisted the designs of Santa Anna to make
them submit to his usurped authority, and the struggle
commenced for their rights, their liberties and their lives.

There were no bonds of sympathy between the Texans
and Mexicans : neither in religion nor in customs, nor in
form of government. The Texan despised the Mexican,
and the Mexican hated and feared the Texan.

1836. Six months after these reverses Santa Anna invaded
Texas with a numerous army. The character of the war
he intended to wage may be inferred from his cruel orders
to shoot every prisoner taken. The Alamo was invested
by Santa Anna himself. The garrison numbered only
one hundred and eighty men, while their enemies were as
sixteen to their one. When summoned to surrender, they,
knowing the treacherous character of the Mexican Chief,
refused. The latter immediately raised the blood-red flag,
to indicate that he would give no quarter. After repulsing
the besiegers several times, the Texans, worn out with
Mar. watchings and labors, were overcome, and when calling for
6.

quarter the survivors—only seven—were mercilessly butchered. CHAP.
L.

Here, surrounded by the bodies of Mexicans who had fallen by his hand, perished the eccentric Davy Crocket. Born on the frontiers of Tennessee, his only education was that received during two months in a common school. Though singular in his mental characteristics, his strong common sense and undaunted spirit, won him the respect of his fellow-citizens, and they sent him several times to represent them in Congress. When he heard of the struggle in which the people of Texas were engaged, he hastened to their aid, and with untiring energy devoted himself to their cause. 1836.

At Goliad the little garrison defended themselves with unexampled bravery; not until their resources failed, their ammunition exhausted, and famine was staring them in the face, did they accept the terms offered by the Mexican in command, and surrendered. Their lives were to be spared, and they aided to leave the country. Other small parties of Texans in different places had been surprised and taken prisoners. The following night a courier arrived from Santa Anna, bringing orders to put the prisoners to death the next morning.

They were marched in little companies outside the town, and there shot; those attempting to escape were cut down by the cavalry. The wounded prisoners were then murdered in the same cruel manner; among the wounded who thus suffered, was Colonel Fanning, their commander. Thus perished three hundred and thirty men, the last words of some of whom were cheers for the liberty of Texas.

A Texan physician, Dr. Grant, was among the prisoners, but his life was spared on condition that he would attend the wounded Mexican soldiers. He was also promised that he should have a passport to leave the country as soon as they needed his services no more. He

CHAP. faithfully performed his part, but when the soldiers were
L cured, he was tied upon a wild horse, and told to take "his
1836. passport and start for home." The cords were cut, and the frightened animal rushed to the woods, where, some time after, the mangled body of the poor man was found.

Santa Anna, with an army of seven thousand men, moved on toward the San Jacinto river. General Samuel Houston had only seven hundred and fifty men, their only weapons rifles, pistols and bowie-knives; in their element when fighting, they were impatient to attack the enemy. The advance division, consisting of fifteen hundred men, under the command of Santa Anna himself, was the flower of the Mexican army. The Mexicans were well posted, and their front, before which was an open grassy space, was carefully fortified. Houston had great difficulty in restraining his men. At three o'clock in the afternoon, when Santa Anna and his officers were enjoying a sleep, and their men engaged in playing cards, Houston passed information along the line that the only bridge by which the enemy could escape was cut down, with the order to move rapidly to the attack. The surprise was complete. In twenty minutes their position was forced, and the panic stricken Mexicans leaving every thing, fled in confusion. More than six hundred were slain, and altogether more than eight hundred taken prisoners. The following day a Mexican was found skulking in the grass. He asked to be led to head-quarters. When brought to the Oak under which were the Texan head-quarters, he made himself known as Santa Anna. He complimented Houston on the renown he had acquired in "conquering the Napoleon of the West." Such was the battle of San Jacinto; the number engaged were comparatively few, yet it virtually ended the contest. Santa Anna, at the request of Houston, ordered the Mexican army to retire from the Territory of Texas. He also ac-

April
21.

knowledgeed the independence of Texas, but the Mexican Congress refused to ratify his act.

A month previous to this battle, a convention of delegates met at a place named Washington, and declared themselves independent of Mexico. The convention then proceeded to form a Constitution, which in due time was adopted by the people. Six months later Houston was inaugurated President of the Republic of Texas ; and its first Congress assembled.¹

When its people threw off their allegiance to Mexico, they naturally turned to more congenial associations ; they desired to annex themselves to the United States.

One of the last official acts of General Jackson had been to sign a bill recognizing their independence, and now the question of their annexation became the absorbing topic of political discussion in the United States, in every section of which many opposed the measure only on the ground that it would incur a war with Mexico, whose government still persisted in fruitless efforts to reduce the Texans to obedience. The interminable question of slavery, as usual, was involved in the controversy. The South was almost unanimously in favor of annexation. The genial climate, the fertile soil, and the varied productions of Texas, were so many pledges that slave labor would there be profitable. A strong party in the North was opposed to the measure, lest it should perpetuate that institution, while one in the South was devising plans to preserve the balance of power existing between the States in the Senate.

The subject of annexation, with its varied consequences, was warmly discussed in both Houses of Congress, in the newspapers, and in the assemblies of the people.

Calhoun gave his views by saying : " There were

CHAP.
L.

1836.
April
21.

Oct.

1844

¹ Yoakum's Hist. of Texas.

CHAP. powerful reasons why Texas should be a part of this
L. Union. The Southern States, owning a slave population,
1844. were deeply interested in preventing that country from
having power to annoy them." Said Webster: "That
while I hold to all the original arrangements and compro-
mises under which the Constitution under which we now
live was adopted, I never could, and never can, persuade
myself to be in favor of the admission of other States into
the Union, as slave States, with the inequalities which
were allowed and accorded by the Constitution to the
slaveholding States then in existence."

Under the auspices of Calhoun, who was now Secretary of State, a treaty was secretly made with Texas, by which she was to be admitted into the Union. But the Senate immediately rejected it by a vote more than two to one, on the ground that to carry out its provisions would involve the country in a war with Mexico. This rejection was the signal for raising a great clamor throughout the land. Annexation was made a prominent issue in the pending presidential election—the Democratic party in favor of the measure, and the Whigs opposed. To influence the credulous, it was boldly asserted that England was negotiating with Texas to buy her slaves, free them, and, having quieted Mexico, to take the republic under her special protection. This story General Houston said was a pure fabrication; yet it served a purpose. In certain portions of the South conventions were held, in which the sentiment "Texas, or Disunion," was openly advocated. The threats of secession and uniting with Texas, unless she was admitted to the Union, had but little effect, however, upon the great mass of the people.

The following year it was proposed to receive Texas by a joint resolution of Congress. The House of Representatives passed a bill to that effect, but the Senate added an amendment, appointing commissioners to nego-

tiate with Mexico on the subject. Thus manifesting a desire to respect the rights of Mexico as a nation with whom we were at peace, and at least make an effort to obtain the annexation with her consent, and also the settlement of boundaries.

By a clause in the resolutions the President was authorized to adopt either plan. The joint resolutions were passed on Saturday, the 2d of March; Tyler would leave office two days later. The President elect, James K. Polk, had intimated that if the question came before him he should adopt the Senate's plan, by which it was hoped an amicable arrangement could be made with Mexico.¹ The retiring President, and his Secretary of State, chose to adopt the mode of annexation proposed in the House resolutions. A messenger was sent on Sunday night the 3d, to carry the proposition with all speed to the Legislature of Texas.

The opposition to annexing slaveholding territory to the Union was so great that Texas came in by compromise. Provision was made that four additional States might be formed out of the Territory when it should become sufficiently populous. Those States lying north of the parallel of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude—the Missouri Compromise line—were to be free States; those south of the line, to “be admitted into the Union with or without slavery as the people of each State asking admission may desire.” To the original State, the right was accorded to prevent any State being formed out of her territory, by refusing her consent to the measure. Texas acceded to the proposition, and thus became one of the United States. Her population now amounted to two hundred thousand.

For nearly two hundred years the people of Rhode Island had lived under the charter granted by Charles II. This instrument was remarkable for the liberal provisions

CHAP.
L.

1844.

1845
July
4.

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Chap. cxlviii., Vol. ii.

CHAP. it contained. The desire to change this charter gave rise
 L. to two parties, the "Suffrage," and "The Law and
 1845. Order;" each determined to secure to their own party
 the administration of affairs, and each elected State offi-
 cers. Thomas W. Dorr, elected governor by the Suf-
 frage party, tried to seize the State arsenal; the militia
 1843. were called out by the other party, and he was compelled
 May to flee. In a second attempt his party was overpowered
 18. by citizen soldiers, and he himself arrested, brought to
 trial, convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprison-
 ment for life; but some time afterward he was pardoned.
 A free constitution was in the mean time adopted by the
 people, under which they are now living.

Almost the last official act of President Tyler was to
 sign the bill for the admission of Iowa and Florida into
 the Union. "Two States which seem to have but few
 things in common to put them together—one the oldest,
 the other the newest territory—one in the extreme north-
 west of the Union, the other in the extreme south-east—
 one the land of evergreens and perpetual flowers, the
 other the climate of long and rigorous winter—one main-
 taining, the other repulsing slavery."

In addition to passing a tariff bill, under whose influ-
 ence the industries of the country greatly revived, this
 progressive Congress conferred a lasting benefit on the
 1842. Nation by cheapening the postage on letters, then a bur-
 densome tax on the social correspondence of the people
 and the business of the country. This measure was per-
 sistently opposed from session to session, especially by
 the members from that section that never paid its own
 postage. When the first bill passed, the letter which
 now costs three cents cost from two to ten times as
 much and even more, according to the distance carried.
 It took twenty-one years of gradual reduction to bring
 the rate of postage down to what it is to-day. This fre-
 quent and cheap intercourse by letters and newspapers is
 of immense value to a nation constituted as we are.

CHAPTER LI

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Presidential Canvass.—Difficulties with Mexico.—General Taylor at Corpus Christi.—Oregon Territory; respective Claims to.—Settlement of Boundary.—Taylor marches to the Rio Grande.—Thornton's Party surprised.—Attack on Fort Brown.—Battle of Palo Alto; of Resaca de la Palma.—Matamoras occupied.—Measures of Congress.—The Volunteers.—Plan of Operations.—Mexico declares War.—General Wool.—General Worth.—The Capture of Monterey.

ON the 4th of March, James Knox Polk, of Tennessee, was inaugurated President, and George Mifflin Dallas, of Pennsylvania, Vice-President; James Buchanan was appointed Secretary of State. CHAP.
LI.
1845.

The canvass had been one of unusual interest and spirit. The candidates of the Whig party were Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen. The questions involved were the admission of Texas, and the settlement of the boundary line on the north-west, between the British possessions and Oregon. The latter—for the Whigs were also in favor of its settlement—thrown in by the successful party.

The result of the election was assumed to be the expression of the will of the people in relation to the admission of Texas, which measure, as we have seen, the expiring administration had already consummated. We have now to record the events, the consequences in part of that measure.

Though France and England, as well as the United

CHAP. II.
1845. States, acknowledged the independence of Texas, Mexico still claimed the territory, and threatened to maintain her claim by force of arms. In accordance with this sentiment, two days after the inauguration of the new President, General Almonte, the Mexican minister at Washington, formally protested against the "joint resolutions" of Congress, then demanded his passports and left the country.

There were other points of dispute between the two governments. American merchants residing in Mexico, complained that their property had been appropriated by that government; that their ships, trading along the shores of the Gulf, had been plundered, and they could obtain no redress. The United States government again and again remonstrated against these outrages. The Mexican government, poverty-stricken and distracted by broils, was almost in a state of anarchy; each party as it came into power repudiated the engagements made by its predecessor.

1851. A treaty had been signed by which redress for these grievances was promised; the promise was not fulfilled, and the aggressions continued. Nine years later the Mexican government again acknowledged the justness of these demands, which now amounted to six millions of dollars, and pledged itself to pay them in twenty instalments, of three hundred thousand dollars each. Three of these had been paid, when the annexation of Texas took place, and, in consequence of that event, Mexico refused further compliance with the treaty.

Even if Mexico gave her consent for the annexation of Texas, another question arose: What was the western boundary of that territory; the Nueces or the Rio Grande? Both parties claimed the region lying between these two rivers. The Legislature of Texas, alarmed at the warlike attitude assumed by Mexico, requested the United States government to protect their territory. Ac-

cordingly the President sent General Zachary Taylor, with fifteen hundred men, called the "Army of Occupation," "to take position in the country between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, and to repel any invasion of the Texan territory." General Taylor formed his camp at Corpus Christi, a small village at the mouth of the Nueces. There he remained till the following spring. Also a portion of the Home squadron, under Commodore Conner, was sent into the Gulf to co-operate with the army. Both "were ordered to commit no act of hostility against Mexico unless she declared war, or was herself the aggressor by striking the first blow." ¹

CHAP
II.

1845.

Sept.

Though Mexico, in her weakness and distraction, had temporized and recently rejected an American minister, yet it was understood that she was now willing to receive one, and accordingly he had been sent. It was plain that upon the pending negotiations war or peace between the two republics depended. Meanwhile it was known that Mexico was marshalling her forces for a conflict.

The unsettled question in relation to the boundary of Oregon now engaged the attention of the President and his Secretary of State. Great Britain was from the first desirous to arrange the difficulty, though, as has been stated, the subject was passed over in the negotiations of the Washington treaty.

A few months after the ratification of that treaty, Mr. Henry S. Fox, the British minister at Washington, addressed a note to Daniel Webster, Secretary of State under Mr. Tyler, in which note he proposed to take up the subject of the Oregon boundary. The proposal was accepted, but for some reason negotiations were not commenced. Two years later, Sir Richard Packenham, then British minister at Washington, renewed the proposition

1842.
Nov.

¹ President's Message, Dec. 1845.

CHAP. to Mr. Upshur, Secretary of State. It was accepted, but
 LI. a few days after Upshur lost his life by the lamentable
 1844. explosion on board the Princeton. Six months later
 Feb. Packenham again brought the matter to the notice of
 Mr. Calhoun, then Secretary of State. The proposition
 was promptly accepted, and the next day named for
 taking up the subject.

The claims of the respective parties may be briefly
 noticed. The region known as Oregon lay between the par-
 allels of forty-two and fifty-four degrees and forty minutes
 north latitude, the Rocky Mountains on the east, and the
 1819. Pacific Ocean on the west. By the Florida Treaty, Spain
 had ceded to the United States all her territory north of
 the parallel first mentioned ; commencing at the sources of
 the Arkansas and thence to the Pacific, and Mexico, hav-
 ing thrown off the yoke of Spain, since confirmed by treaty
 1828. the validity of the same boundary. The parallel of fifty-
 four degrees forty minutes was agreed upon by the United
 States, Great Britain, and Russia, as the southern bound-
 ary of the possessions of the latter power.

1824,
 1825. The American claim was based upon the cession of
 Spain, who was really the first discoverer ; the discovery of
 1792. Captain Gray, already mentioned ; the explorations of Lewis
 and Clarke, sent by the government of the United States ;
 and the settlement established at the mouth of the Colum-
 1811. bia River, by John Jacob Astor of New York. Lewis and
 1805, Clarke, during Jefferson's administration, crossed the
 1806. Rocky Mountains, came upon the southern main branch
 of the Columbia, and explored that river to its mouth.

The British claim was also based on discovery, and
 1806. actual settlement founded by the North-West Company,
 on Fraser's River, and also another on the head-waters of
 the north branch of the Columbia.

1844. Calhoun came directly to the point, and proposed as
 the boundary the continuation of the forty-ninth degree

of north latitude to the Pacific. This line had already been agreed upon between the United States and Great Britain by the treaty made at London, as the boundary of their respective territories from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. Packenham, unwilling to accept that line, proposed to follow the forty-ninth degree from the mountains—some three hundred miles—until it should strike the north branch of the Columbia river, and thence down that stream to the ocean. The American Secretary declined this, and as the British minister had no further instructions, the consideration of the subject was postponed.

CHAP
LI.

1844.

1818.

Meantime the Presidential canvass was in progress, and “all of Oregon or none” became one of the watchwords of the Democratic party. So long as these sentiments were proclaimed by partisan leaders and newspapers, they were harmless ; but when the new President, in his inaugural address, asserted that our title to “Oregon Territory” “was clear and indisputable,” and moreover intimated that it was his intention to maintain it by arms, the question assumed a far different aspect.

The position thus officially taken, when the subject of the boundary was under negotiation, took the British Government by surprise, especially since hitherto each party had courteously recognized the other’s claim to a portion of the territory. Four months passed. Meantime the good feeling existing between the two governments was seriously disturbed ; England did not again offer to negotiate. A mere partisan watchword was in danger of involving both nations in war. At length the President himself, directed the Secretary of State to reopen negotiations by offering as the boundary the forty-ninth parallel ; but the proposition was not accepted by the British minister.

To prepare the way for further negotiation, the Presi-

CHAP. LI. dent then recommended that the joint occupation of the territory should be abrogated, by giving the twelve months' notice, according to a provision in the treaties of 1818 and 1828. Congress voted to give the notice.

Sir Robert Peel expressed in Parliament his regret that the last offer of the American Secretary had not been accepted, and soon after the British minister, Packenham, communicated to the Secretary of State the information that his government would accept the parallel of forty-nine, as recently offered.

The case admitted of no delay. The President was anxious to relieve himself of the responsibility of acting on the proposition. On the suggestion of Senator Benton, of Missouri, he, following the example of Washington, consulted the Senate on the propriety of accepting this last proposition, pledging himself to be guided by their decision. That body decided to accept it, "and gave the President a faithful support against himself, against his cabinet, and against his peculiar friends."

Presently the treaty was sent into the Senate, when, after a spirited debate for two days, it was ratified.¹ By this treaty, the parallel of forty-nine degrees North latitude was agreed upon as the boundary to the middle of the channel between Vancouver's Island and the Continent, and thence southerly through the middle of the Straits of Fuca to the ocean:—also the navigation of the Columbia River, and its main northern branch, was left free to both parties.

1846. We left General Taylor at Corpus Christi, on the west bank of the Nueces. He now received orders from Washington, to move to the Rio Grande, and establish a fortified camp and fort on the bank opposite the town of Matamoras, as in the vicinity of that place Mexican troops were assembling in great numbers, with the intention, it

Feb.

¹ Benton's Thirty Years' View, Vol. ii. Chaps. 156-7-8-9.

was said, of invading Texas. Leaving the main portion of his stores under a guard at Point Isabel, he marched to the Rio Grande, and, within cannon shot of Matamoras, established a camp and built a fort. These movements called forth from Mexico strong protests and threats of war.

CHAP.
LI.

1846.

When the dispute between the two Republics began, Herrera was President of Mexico. He was desirous of arranging the difficulties by negotiation; but the war spirit prevailed, and at a recent election the Mexican people chose for President, Paredes, an uncompromising enemy of peace. When he assumed office he sent a large force under General Ampudia, to whom he gave orders to drive the Americans beyond the Nueces. That officer soon after sent a communication to General Taylor, in which he warned him of his danger in thus provoking the anger of "the magnanimous Mexican nation," and demanded that he should "break up his camp and retire beyond the Nueces" within twenty-four hours. Taylor replied that he should maintain his position, and carry out the instructions of his government, which alone was responsible for his presence on the Rio Grande. He continued to strengthen his fortification, and to closely watch the movements of the Mexicans. Ampudia was at a loss how to act; both commanders were unwilling to light the flame of war.

Paredes, dissatisfied with Ampudia, sent General Arista to supersede him. The latter immediately ordered detachments of Mexican soldiers to occupy positions between Point Isabel and the American camp, thus cutting off communication with their stores.

General Taylor had sent Captain Thornton with a party of sixty dragoons to reconnoitre; the party was surprised, sixteen of their number killed, the remainder captured. Thornton alone escaped. Here was shed the first blood in the Mexican war.

April
24.

CHAP.
LI.

1846.

A few days later, Captain Walker, the celebrated Texan ranger, who with a select company was engaged in keeping up the communication with Point Isabel, came into camp with information that a large force of Mexicans was threatening the latter place. Leaving Major Brown with three hundred men to defend the fort, Taylor hastened to the aid of Point Isabel, which place, after a march of twenty-one miles, he reached without opposition.

The Mexicans self-complacently attributed this movement to fear, and they immediately made preparations to attack the fort. Taylor had concerted with Major Brown that if the latter should be surrounded or hard pressed, he should, at certain intervals, fire heavy signal guns.

May
3.

The Mexicans opened with a tremendous cannonade from a battery at Matamoras, while a large force took position in the rear of the fort, and began to throw up intrenchments. The little garrison defended themselves with great bravery, and not until Major Brown fell mortally wounded, did the next in command, Captain Hawkins, begin to fire the signal guns.

May
8.

The cautious Taylor first put Point Isabel in a state of defence, and then set out with a provision train guarded by two thousand two hundred and eighty-eight men to relieve Fort Brown—thus afterward named in honor of its commander. The little army was truly in peril; an overwhelming force of the enemy—three to its one—had taken a strong position to intercept its march. The booming of signal guns still continued, and Taylor ardently pressed on with the determination to cut his way through. Presently he came in sight of the enemy, posted in front of a chaparral—in which were their reserves—near a small stream, the Palo Alto. The train was immediately closed up, and the soldiers refreshed themselves from the stream, and filled their canteens. As soon as the exact position of the Mexicans was ascertained, the American line was formed, Major Ringgold's battery was

placed on the right, and Duncan's on the left, while the eighteen-pounders were in the centre on the main road. The Mexicans commenced the action with their artillery, but at too great distance to reach the American line. The latter moved slowly and silently up till within suitable range, then the artillery opened, and displayed great skill in the rapidity as well as in the accuracy with which each gun was handled. The eighteen-pounders riddled the Mexican centre through and through, while Duncan scarcely noticed their artillery, but poured an incessant stream of balls upon their infantry. Presently the long grass in front was set on fire, by the wadding from the guns, and the smoke obscured the position of the Mexicans. The American batteries groped their way for three-fourths of an hour through the burning grass, and when the smoke cleared away, they found themselves within range of the enemy ; in another moment they opened their guns with renewed vigor. At this crisis night came on ; the contest had continued for five hours, and was a conflict of artillery alone. The only instance when an effort was made to change the form of the battle, was when the Mexican cavalry endeavored to turn the American flank ; but the infantry, with bayonets fixed stood firm and awaited the shock ; as the cavalry hesitated to make the onset, a discharge from the American artillery decided them to wheel and rapidly leave the field.

Such was the first battle in the Mexican war ; a pre-sage of those which were to follow. The enemy lost four hundred men, while the Americans had only nine killed and forty-four wounded ; but among the former was Major Ringgold, universally lamented, both as an efficient officer and a Christian gentleman. As his officers offered him assistance, he said : "Leave me alone, you are wanted forward." To him was due much of the credit for that perfection of drill and rapidity of movement which the American Flying Artillery exhibited on battle-fields

CHAP.
LI.

1846

CHAP. during this war. The Mexicans manifested here no want
LI. of courage ; they stood for four or five hours under these
1846. murderous discharges of grape.

The Americans encamped on the spot, and at three o'clock the next morning were on their march toward Fort Brown. Meantime the Mexicans, leaving their dead unburied, had disappeared ; but on the afternoon of that day they were discovered posted in a strong position beyond a ravine, known as the Dry River of Palms or Resaca de la Palma. They had been reinforced during the night, and now numbered seven thousand men. Their right and left were protected by dense brush and chaparral, while their artillery, placed behind a breastwork and beyond the ravine, swept the road for some distance.

May
9.

General Taylor placed his artillery on the road in the centre, and ordered divisions on the right and left to grope their way through the chaparral and ferret out with the bayonet the Mexican sharpshooters, who were swarming in the brush which protected them.

No order could be observed ; the officers became separated from the men ; each soldier acted for himself, as he broke his way through the chaparral and probed for the Mexicans. The sharp twang of the rifle, the dull sound of the musket, the deep mutterings of the cannon, the shrill cries of the Mexicans, so in contrast with the vigorous shouts of the Americans, produced a tremendous uproar. The right and left had gradually forced their way through the chaparral almost to the ravine, but the Mexican battery, handled with great coolness and execution, still swept the road at every discharge, and held the centre in check. That battery, the key of the Mexican position, must be taken. General Taylor turned to Captain May, of the dragoons, and pointing to the battery, said : " You must take it." The captain wheeled his horse and shouted to his troops, " Men, we must take that

battery !” Just then Lieutenant Ridgely suggested to May to wait until he would draw the Mexican fire. The moment a portion of their guns were fired, the bugle was heard high above the din, to sound a charge. The attention of the combatants was arrested, all eyes were turned toward the road, along which dashed the horsemen, led by their gallant leader. A cloud of dust soon hid them from view ; a discharge of the Mexican guns swept away one-third of their number, but in a moment more, the clashing sabres and the trampling of men under the horses’ feet, proclaimed that the battery was taken. The Mexican cannoneers were paralyzed at the sudden appearance of the approaching foe, and before they could recover, the dragoons were upon them. May, with his own hands, captured General La Vega, the commander, who was in the act of applying a match to a gun. The dragoons then charged directly through the Mexican centre.

CHAP
LI.

1846.

A shout of triumph arose from the American lines, the infantry pressed on and took possession of the guns, from which the dragoons had driven the men. The entire Mexican force, panic-stricken at the sudden onset, broke and fled in confusion to the nearest point of the Rio Grande ; in their haste to pass over which, numbers of them were drowned.

It was a complete victory. General Arista fled, and without a companion, leaving his private papers, as well as his public correspondence. All the Mexican artillery, two thousand stand of arms, and six hundred mules, fell into the hands of the Americans. The latter lost one hundred and twenty-two, and the Mexicans twelve hundred.

We may well imagine the emotions with which the little garrison, exhausted by the exertions of six days’ incessant bombardment, listened to the sound of the battle, as it drew nearer and nearer ; first was heard the cannon, then the musketry ; then the smoke could be seen floating

CHAP. above the distant trees ; now Mexicans here and there
LL appeared in full flight ; presently the victorious American
1846. cavalry came in sight, and the men mounted the ramparts
and shouted a welcome.

May General Taylor advanced to Fort Brown, then in a
18. few days crossed the Rio Grande, and took possession of
Matamoras. The Mexicans had withdrawn the previous
evening and were in full march toward Monterey. The
American commander took pains not to change or inter-
fere with the municipal laws of the town ; the people
enjoyed their civil and religious privileges. They were
paid good prices for provisions, which they furnished in
abundance ; yet there was evidently in their hearts a
deep-toned feeling of hatred toward the invaders.

Meanwhile intelligence of the capture of Captain
Thornton's reconnoitring party had reached the United
States, and the rumor that Mexican soldiers, in over-
powering numbers, were between the Nueces and the Rio
Grande.

May The President immediately sent a special message to
11. Congress, in which he announced that "war existed by
the act of Mexico ;" but surely it was an "act" of self-
defence on the part of the Mexicans, and made so by the
advance of an American army upon disputed soil, that had
been in their possession and that of their fathers' fathers.

The President called upon Congress to recognize the
war, to appropriate the necessary funds to carry it on, and
to authorize him to call upon the country for volunteers.
Congress, anxious to rescue the army from danger, ap-
propriated ten millions of dollars, and empowered the
President to accept the services of fifty thousand volun-
teers ; one-half of whom to be mustered into the army,
and the other half kept as a reserve. War was not for-
mally declared, yet the war spirit aroused was unprece-
dented. Throughout the land public meetings were held.

and in a few weeks two hundred thousand volunteers had offered their services to rescue the gallant little army from its perils, and, if necessary, to prosecute the war. Notwithstanding these warlike indications, great diversity of opinion prevailed among the people, both as to the justness of the war, or the expediency of appealing to that terrible arbiter, when all the results demanded might be obtained by negotiation.

CHAP
LI.

1846.

On the suggestions of Major-General Scott, a plan of operations, remarkably comprehensive in its outlines, was resolved upon by the government. A powerful fleet was to sail round Cape Horn, and to attack the Mexican ports on the Pacific coast in concert with a force, styled the "Army of the West," which was to assemble at Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri, then to cross the great plains and the Rocky Mountains, and in its progress reduce the northern provinces of Mexico. Another force, "The Army of the Centre," was to penetrate to the heart of the Republic by way of Texas, and if deemed best, co-operate with the force under Taylor, known, as we have said, as the "Army of Occupation." The latter part of the plan was afterward modified, and the country was penetrated by way of Vera Cruz.

The apprehensions of the people for the safety of their little army, gave way to a feeling of exultation, when the news reached them that it had met and repelled its numerous assailants. The war spirit was not diminished but rather increased by this success. Congress manifested its gratification by conferring upon Taylor the commission of Major-General by brevet.

30.

On the other hand the Mexican people and government were aroused, and on the intelligence of these disasters, war was formally declared against the United States, and the government commenced to prepare for the contest.

May
28.

CHAP.
LI.

1846. General John E. Wool, a native of New York, who had seen service in the war of 1812, and distinguished himself at Queenstown Heights, was commissioned to drill the volunteers. By the most untiring diligence he had, in the short space of six weeks, inspected and taken into the service twelve thousand men, nine thousand of whom were hurried off to reinforce General Taylor, while the remainder marched under his own command to San Antonio, in Texas, there to be in readiness to act according to circumstances.

General Taylor remained three months at Matamoras, his operations restricted for want of men, but as soon as reinforcements reached him, he prepared to advance into the country, in accordance with orders received from Washington. He sent in advance General William J. Worth, with the first division toward Monterey, the capital city of New Leon. Worth took his first lessons in warfare in 1812. From love of military life, when a mere youth he enlisted as a common soldier, but his ready talents attracted the attention of Colonel, now General Scott, and from that day his promotion began. A fortnight later, leaving General Twiggs in command at Matamoras, Taylor himself moved with the main division,—more than six thousand men,—and the entire army encamped within three miles of the doomed city.

Aug.
20.

Sept.
9.

Monterey was an old city built by the Spaniards nearly three centuries ago. In a fertile valley, hedged in by high mountains, it could be approached only in two directions; from the north-east toward Matamoras, and from the west by a road, which passed through a rocky gorge, toward Saltillo. The city, nearly two miles in length by one in breadth, had three large plazas or squares; the houses, built in the old Spanish style, were one story high, with strong walls of masonry rising three or four

feet above their flat roofs. The city itself was fortified by massive walls, and on its ramparts were forty-two pieces of heavy artillery, while from the mountain tops, north of the town, the Americans could see that the flat roofs of the stone houses were converted into places of defence, and bristled with musketry, and that the streets were rendered impassable by numerous barricades. On the one side, on a hill, stood the Bishop's Palace, a massive stone building, strongly fortified, on the other were redoubts well manned, in the rear was the river San Juan, south of which towered abrupt mountains. Such was the appearance and strength of Monterey, garrisoned as it was by ten thousand troops, nearly all regulars, under the command of General Ampudia. It was now to be assailed by an army of less than seven thousand men.

CHAP.
LI.

1846.

Ten days elapsed before the vicinity of the town could be thoroughly reconnoitred. In the afternoon, General Worth was ordered, with six hundred and fifty men, to find his way around the hill occupied by the Bishop's Palace, gain the Saltillo road, and carry the works in that direction, while a diversion would be made against the centre and left of the town, by batteries erected during the night. The impetuous Worth, by great exertions, accomplished his purpose, by opening a new road over the mountains. In one instance he came to a small stream in a deep gully, the bridge over which had been broken down. A neighboring field furnished the material; his men soon filled the chasm, and passed over on a corn-stalk-bridge.

Sept.
19.

The next morning the batteries erected the night before opened upon the enemy, who replied with a hearty good will. At length, after hard fighting, one of the Mexican works of great strength, situated in the lower part of the town, was captured. The brigade under General Quitman, of the Mississippi Volunteers, "carried the work

Sept.
20

**CHAP
LI.**

1846. in handsome style, as well as the strong building in its rear." General Butler had also entered the town on the right ; both of these positions were maintained.

While these operations were in progress, General Worth succeeded in gaining the Saltillo road, and thus cut off the enemy's communication with the west. He carried, in succession, the heights south of the river and road, and immediately turned the guns upon the Bishop's Palace.

Sept. 28. During the night, the Mexicans evacuated their works in the lower town ; but the next day they kept up a vigorous fire from the Citadel. The following morning at dawn of day, in the midst of a fog and drizzling rain, Worth stormed the crest overlooking the Bishop's Palace, and at noon, the Palace itself fell into the hands of the Americans. Yet the city, with its fortified houses, was far from being taken. "Our troops advanced from house to house, and from square to square, until they reached a street but one square in the rear of the principal plaza, in and near which the enemy's force was mostly concentrated."¹ The Americans obtained the plaza, then forced the houses on either side, and, by means of crowbars, tore down the walls, ascended to the roofs, then drew up one or two field-pieces, and drove the enemy from point to point till the city capitulated.

The carnage was terrible. The shouts of the combatants, mingled with the wail of suffering women and children, presented a scene so heart-rending that even the demon of war might be supposed to turn from it in horror.

The Mexicans had effectually barricaded their streets, but these were almost undisturbed, while the invaders burrowed from house to house. The conflict continued for almost four days, in which the Mexicans fought desperately from behind their barricades on the house-

¹ Gen. Taylor's Report.

tops, where they did not hesitate to meet the invaders of their hearthstones hand to hand.

The following morning Ampudia surrendered the town and garrison. The Mexican soldiers were permitted to march out with the honors of war.

CHAP
LI.

1846.
Sept.
24.

General Taylor was assured that those in authority at the city of Mexico were desirous of peace. In consequence of these representations, and also of his want of provisions, he agreed to a cessation of hostilities for eight weeks, if his government should sanction the measure.

He now left General Worth in command of the city, and retired with the main force of the army to Walnut Springs, about three miles distant, and there encamped.

CHAPTER LII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The President hopes for Peace.—Santa Anna.—Hostilities to be renewed.—Troops withdrawn from General Taylor.—Letter from General Scott.—Volunteers arrive at Monterey.—Despatches intercepted.—Santa Anna's Plans and Preparations.—Taylor advances to Agua Nueva.—Battle of Buena Vista.—Its Consequences.

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1846. “ninety” or “one hundred and twenty days” from its commencement, and a peace concluded, that “should give indemnity for the past and security for the future.” These desirable ends were to be attained by treaty, through the means of that incomparable patriot, Santa Anna, then an exile in Havana, who promised, for a certain consideration, if restored to authority in Mexico, to exert his influence in favor of peace. A secret messenger from Washington had made to the “illustrious exile” overtures to this effect, about the time that General Taylor was ordered to the Rio Grande ; the special act which led to hostilities.¹

Dec. In his next annual message the President gives some information on this subject. “Santa Anna,” said that document, “had expressed his regret that he had subverted the Federal Constitution of his country,” and “that he

¹ Benton's “Thirty Years' View,” Vol. ii. pp. 561 and 681-2.

was now in favor of its restoration." He was also opposed to a monarchy, or "European interference in the affairs of his country." The President cherished the hope that the exiled chief would "see the ruinous consequences to Mexico of a war with the United States, and that it would be his interest to favor peace;" and further the Message said, that Paredes, then President of Mexico, was "a soldier by profession, and a monarchist in principle;" the sworn enemy of the United States, and urgent to prosecute the war. Santa Anna, on the contrary, was in favor of peace, and only wanted a few millions of dollars to bring about that object so dear to his patriotism; hence the hopes that the war would be brought to a close in three or four months. It was with this expectation that the President, in a special message, asked of Congress an appropriation of two millions of dollars "in order to restore peace, and to advance a portion of the consideration money, for any cession of territory" which Mexico might make. It was also in accordance with this arrangement, that, on the very day Congress, at his suggestion, recognized the "existence of the war," he issued an order to Commodore Connor, who was in command of the fleet in the Gulf, to permit Santa Anna and his suite to return to Mexico. The latter availed himself of this passport to land at Vera Cruz.

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President Polk had been duped. Santa Anna never intended to fulfil his promise, except so far as to forward his own selfish ends. Instead of endeavoring to conciliate the hostile countries and obtain peace, he devoted all his energies to arouse the war spirit of his countrymen; called upon them to rally under his banner and save their nationality; issued flaming manifestos expressing the most intense hatred of the people of the United States, and his righteous indignation at the wrongs imposed on his country by the "perfidious Yankees."

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His extravagant professions of patriotism were not without effect; his countrymen deposed Paredes, and elected him President. Though they had been unfortunate in the field, their spirits revived, and in a few months he had an army of twenty thousand men concentrated at San Luis Potosi.

Sept. Meanwhile General Wool had marched from San Antonio. His indefatigable labors had converted the volunteers under his care into well-drilled soldiers. Part of their way was through a region but thinly inhabited and without roads, and across a desert in which they suffered much for water. A laborious march of six weeks brought him to Monclova, seventy miles from Monterey—here he learned of the capture of the latter place. It was now arranged that he should take position in a fertile district in the province of Durango, that would enable him to obtain supplies for his own men, and the army under General Taylor. The inhabitants cheerfully furnished provisions, for which they were paid promptly, and in truth received more favor than they had recently experienced at the hands of their own rulers, as General Wool kept his men under strict discipline and scrupulously protected the persons and property of the Mexicans.

The cessation of hostilities, by orders from Washington, ceased on the 13th of November. Two days later Nov. 15. General Worth took possession of Saltillo, the capital of Coahuila, and General Taylor himself, leaving a garrison in Monterey under General Butler, marched toward the coast in order to attack Tampico, but as that place had already surrendered to Commodore Connor, he took possession of Victoria, the capital of Tamaulipas.

Dec.
29.

The United States government now prepared to invade Mexico by way of Vera Cruz. Just as General Taylor was ready to commence active operations, General Scott was about to sail for that place with the

intention of capturing it, and then, if peace could not be obtained, to march upon the city of Mexico itself.

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To carry out the plan of operations, it was necessary to increase the force under General Scott's immediate control. Troops in sufficient numbers could not be drawn from the United States, and a portion of Taylor's army was ordered to join him before Vera Cruz. He thus in a private letter expresses his generous sympathies with the latter: "My dear General," says he, "I shall be obliged to take from you most of the gallant officers and men whom you have so long and so nobly commanded. I am afraid that I shall, by imperious necessity—the approach of the yellow fever on the Gulf coast—reduce you, for a time, to remain on the defensive. This will be infinitely painful to you, and, for that reason, distressing to me. But I rely upon your patriotism to submit to the temporary sacrifice with cheerfulness. No man can better afford to do so. Recent victories place you on that high eminence."

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General Taylor, though deeply disappointed, at once complied with the orders of the government, and detached Generals Worth and Quitman with their divisions and the greater part of the volunteers brought by General Wool: in truth, the flower of his army. These troops were speedily on their march from Saltillo toward the Gulf coast. Thus Taylor was left with a very small force. During the month of January, and a part of February, reinforcements of volunteers arrived from the United States, increasing his army to about six thousand; but after garrisoning Monterey and Saltillo, he had only four thousand seven hundred effective men, of whom only six hundred were regulars.

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General Scott sent Lieutenant Richey and a guard of men with a despatch to General Taylor. The Lieutenant imprudently left his men, went near a Mexican village, was lassoed, dragged from his horse and murdered,

CHAP. and his despatches sent to Santa Anna. From these the
LII. Mexican chief learned the plan for invading his country.

1847. He promptly decided upon his course of action—a judicious one. Trusting that the strength of Vera Cruz, and of the Castle San Juan d’Ulloa, would long resist the enemy, and even if they both should be captured, that the fortified places along the road would still retard the advance of the Americans upon the capital, he determined to direct all his force against Taylor, who was now weakened by the loss of the greater part of his army.

Santa Anna’s difficulties were almost insurmountable. The city of Mexico was in confusion, torn by factions. He took most extraordinary and illegal measures to enlist men and obtain the means for their support; raised money by forced loans; made the church property contribute its share of the public expense; the Priests protested and appealed to the superstitions of the people; he immediately seized one of their number, the most factious, and threw him into prison, and the rest were intimidated. Thus, for nearly four months, he exercised an arbitrary, energetic, and iron rule. With a well-organized army of twenty-three thousand men, and twenty pieces of artillery, he commenced his march for San Luis Potosi in the direction of Saltillo, and within sixty miles south of that place he halted and prepared for battle.

Jan.
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Rumors reached General Wool that Santa Anna was approaching Saltillo. Major Borland was sent with thirty dragoons to reconnoitre; he was joined on his way by Major Gaines and Captain Cassius M. Clay, with another company of thirty-five men. No enemy appeared, and they pushed on during the day, and carelessly encamped for the night, but, in the morning, found themselves surrounded by one thousand horsemen under the Mexican General Minon. They were taken prisoners, and Santa Anna sent them, as the first fruits of the campaign, to be paraded through the streets of the city of Mexico.

General Taylor now advanced from Monterey, and established his head-quarters at Saltillo. Leaving there his stores, he made a rapid march to Agua Nueva, eighteen miles in advance, on the road to San Luis Potosi, thus to secure the southern extremity of the defile through the Sierra Nevada, rather than the northern one at Monterey. At the former point the Mexicans must fight or starve, because of the barrenness of the country in their rear ; while, had he remained at Monterey, Santa Anna could have had his head-quarters at Saltillo, and drawn his supplies from that comparatively fertile district.

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Scouts reported that General Minon with a large body of cavalry was to the left of Agua Nueva, and that the American position could be turned. Companies of dragoons from time to time were sent in different directions to reconnoitre. They at length learned from a " Mexican, dressed as a peon," that Santa Anna had arrived in the neighborhood with twenty thousand men, and that he intended to attack the Americans the next morning.

The clouds of dust toward the east, and the signal fires that blazed upon the tops of the distant hills, seemed to confirm the report. But that daring Texan ranger, Major McCulloch, was not satisfied ; and, accompanied by some dozen volunteers, he determined to ascertain the truth of the " peon's " story. They pushed on across a desert of thirty-six miles to Encarnacion, where they arrived at midnight, and found the enemy in force. Sending back all his men, save one, McCulloch entered their lines, and, undetected, went from point to point, obtained more correct information of their numbers, then passed out, and escaped to Agua Nueva.

On the reception of this intelligence, Taylor, leaving a small guard as an outpost, retired up the valley in expectation that Santa Anna in hot haste would pursue him, while he himself should await his approach at a point, which, in passing, he had already noticed. The conjecture was correct.

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1847. Santa Anna knew well the position of the Americans. He thought they would not retreat, and he resolved to surprise them. But between him and Agua Neuva there intervened fifty miles, the last thirty-six of which were across a desert. His soldiers were each supplied with water and provisions; in the morning the march commenced, and at noon they entered the desert; in the night they halted for a while to refresh, and at dawn they were to attack the unsuspecting foe. The march was rapid and secret; the silence of the desert was not disturbed—not a signal was used, not a drum beat. After so much toil he was sadly disappointed; his enemy had disappeared. He firmly believed the Americans were in full flight, in order to avoid a battle. Some days before he had sent General Minon with his cavalry across the mountains, to their rear, and he now hoped that Minon would be able to hold the fugitives in check until he himself could come up with his full force. He halted only to refresh his wearied soldiers, and then pursued with all his vigor.

The ground chosen by General Taylor on which to make a stand, was the pass—since so famous—known among the Mexicans as Las Angosturas, or the Narrows. It was at the north end of a valley, about twelve miles long, and formed by mountains on either side. Here an ascent rises to a plateau, a little more than a mile wide, on each side of which rugged mountains, inaccessible to artillery or cavalry, rise from two to three thousand feet. Numerous ravines or deep gullies, formed by the torrents rushing from the mountains during the rainy season, rendered the surface in front and on the sides very uneven. Neither flank could be turned except by light troops clambering up the mountains. The plateau was somewhat rough, with here and there open and smooth places, as well as clumps of thorny chaparral. The road through

the defile passes much nearer to the west than to the east side of the Narrows. On this plateau, one mile south of the hacienda or plantation known as *Buena Vista*, the American army awaited the approach of the Mexicans.

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Early the following morning clouds of dust, extending far down the valley to the south, made known that the Mexican army was near and in motion. Soon after, its cavalry came in sight and halted for the infantry and artillery to come up.

The long roll of the drum called the Americans to arms; they obeyed the call with hearty cheers. It was the anniversary of the birth of Washington, and on the impulse his name was adopted as their watchword. They were placed under peculiar circumstances. A few months before, they were quietly engaged in the avocations of civil life; enthusiasm had induced them to volunteer, and now they were on foreign soil, far from their homes. With the exception of a few hundreds, they were all for the first time going into battle, with the prospect that to them defeat would be certain ruin; they were about to meet an army, in its numbers nearly five to one of their own. In the unequal contest, their only hope was in their own bravery, and in the skill of their commander.

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The cautious Taylor had gone to Saltillo, six miles distant, to superintend in person the defences designed to secure the stores from capture. General Wool was left in temporary command at the Narrows, and he directed the arrangements of the troops.

Captain Washington's battery was placed to command the road or pass, the key to the position of the army. Colonel Hardin's First Illinois regiment was on a ridge to the left of the pass, and Colonel McKee's Second Kentucky on another ridge in their rear. To the left beyond these was posted the Second Illinois, under Colonel Bissell, while still further in the same direction, under the mountain, were stationed Colonels Yell and Humphrey

- CHAP. Marshall, with the Arkansas and Kentucky volunteers.
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1847. The remainder of the army, including Lane's Indiana brigade ; the Mississippi riflemen, Colonel Jefferson Davis ; two squadrons of dragoons, and Sherman and Bragg's batteries of flying artillery, were placed in reserve on the rear of the plateau.

During the morning, and beyond the range of the American artillery, the main body of the Mexicans was also arranged in order of battle. Their right, a battery of sixteen-pounders, rested on the base of the mountains. These guns were manned by the San Patricio regiment, composed of Irish and German deserters from the American army. Two divisions, Pacheco's and Lombardini's, extended in the rear of this battery ; guns, twelve and eight-pounders, were posted to the left, and a battalion occupied a hill in advance of the main line, directly opposite the pass. Their cavalry was stationed in the rear of either flank, and to be unencumbered, the baggage of the whole army was left many miles in the rear.

About noon a Mexican officer brought a note to General Taylor. In pompous terms Santa Anna summoned him to surrender at discretion, and trust himself to be treated "with the consideration belonging to the Mexican character." In a brief and courteous note the American commander declined the proposal.

Santa Anna noticed that the mountains to the east, beyond the American left, were unguarded, and he sent General Ampudia, with light troops, around a spur to ascend them from the south side. The movement was observed, and Colonel Marshall dismounted his own riflemen and those of the Indiana battalion, and commenced to ascend to the crest of the ridge. As the lines gradually approached each other, skirmishing began. The Mexicans kept up a continuous roar of musketry, while the Ameri-

cans lay among the rocks, whence could be heard the sharp crack of their rifles.

The Mexican batteries occasionally threw a shot, but the Americans on the plateau remained silent; they wished a closer conflict. They were not idle, however, but threw up temporary works to protect Washington's battery in front, and also to the right of the pass close up to the base of the mountain. Thus passed the afternoon, with only severe skirmishing on the mountain sides. When night came on the Americans were recalled to the plain. The Mexicans remained in position, and the night passed without any important demonstration on either side.

General Minon had passed through the defile, Palomas Adentro, and in the afternoon appeared with his numerous cavalry upon the plains north of Saltillo. Here Santa Anna sent him orders to remain, and be in readiness to fall upon the American forces, which he promised to either capture or put to flight the next morning.

The appearance of Minon caused no little anxiety, and General Taylor, after night-fall, hastened to Saltillo with aid, to assure himself that any attack upon the stores would be repelled.

During the night Ampudia was reinforced; and at dawn he renewed the attack, and stretched his line farther to the right; but Colonel Marshall, with a portion of the Illinois volunteers, maintained his position, though pressed by superior numbers.

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Soon after sunrise, movements in the Mexican ranks indicated that a grand attack was in contemplation. Their strength was nearly all thrown toward the American left, where, owing to the smallness of their number and the extent of the ground, the troops were placed at greater intervals. The San Patricio battery was also brought forward and placed on the ridge in front of the

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plateau, while three powerful columns of attack were arranged—columns composed of the best soldiers of the army, and led by its most experienced leaders. As the foremost column advanced, General Lane ordered Captain O'Brien to hold them in check with his guns, and the Second Indiana regiment to support him. O'Brien's shot ploughed through their ranks from front to rear, yet the Mexicans crowded on till the head of the column was literally broken, and thrown into confusion, and refused to advance. Lane now ordered O'Brien to move forward fifty yards nearer the enemy. The Indiana regiment followed, but came within range of a Mexican battery, which opened upon their flank. They were ordered to retreat from the face of such overpowering numbers ; the retreat unfortunately soon became a flight, which extended quite beyond the enemy's guns. Now upon O'Brien's artillery was concentrated the entire fire of the Mexican battery and Pacheco's column. His horses were soon disabled ; not a man of his company but was either killed or wounded ; he was forced to fall back and leave to the enemy one of his guns as a trophy—a trophy which they seemed to appreciate very highly.

These forces now advanced and formed a juncture with the division of Lombardini ; the entire body then moved against the plateau, and opened a heavy fire upon the Second Illinois regiment under Colonel Bissell. Four companies of Arkansas volunteers had been directed to dismount and gain the plateau. They reached it in the midst of this conflict, but they soon became panic-stricken and fled. The Illinoisians, now unsupported, slowly fell back. While this was in progress, a portion of the Kentuckians were forced back, and Ampudia, with his light troops, came down the mountain and completely turned the American left. The third heavy column, under Moray Villamil, pressed on against Washington's battery on the road. He waited till they came within close range, then

poured in his shot with surprising rapidity and terrible effect ; the head of the column melted away before the storm, the whole mass was thrown into confusion, swayed from side to side, then broke and fled, leaving the plain covered with a multitude of slain and wounded.

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Just as the three columns of the enemy had failed to force the American centre on the plateau, General Taylor, accompanied by fresh troops, arrived upon the field ; his presence was needed. He brought with him every available man that could be spared from Saltillo. They were Colonel May's dragoons, a portion of the Mississippi riflemen, and of the Arkansas cavalry.

The natural advantages of the position had been lost ; success depended alone upon the bravery of the troops ; many of the officers had fallen, and whole companies of the volunteers, both infantry and horse, had left the field, and were in disastrous retreat toward Buena Vista, in spite of the efforts of General Wool and Colonel Davis, and other officers to restrain them.

The Mexican infantry, supported by their fine cavalry, right and left, which made shock after shock, continued to press on. By great exertions Davis rallied the majority of his regiment, and a part of the Second Indiana ; they advanced at a quick step, but silent until within rifle shot ; then gave the approaching foe a destructive fire. The Mexicans did not slacken their pace till they came almost to the edge of the last ravine between them and their enemy, when they halted. The Americans came up to the opposite edge ; thus for a while the two forces confronted each other and fired across the ravine. Presently a shout along the American line rose high and clear above the din ; they delivered their fire, dashed into the ravine, lingered a moment to reload, then rose upon the opposite crest, in the face of the enemy, and with defiant shouts urged home their fire more fearfully than ever. The

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Scarcely was Colonel Davis free from this when he was assailed by a force coming in another direction. A thousand lancers who had not been engaged approached along the broad ridge ; they were well supported by infantry. To meet this new enemy Davis, was aided by the Second and Third Indiana regiments. He extended his line across the ridge, stationed Captain Sherman on his left, and placed his men in the form of the letter V, the opening toward the approaching lancers. They commenced to advance at a gallop as if to charge their way through the centre. But as they drew near they gradually slackened their pace ; they expected the Americans would fire, and then they would ride them down before they could reload their pieces. The latter fired not a gun, but awaited their approach. At length the lancers came to a walk at the opening of the angle. The silence seemed to fill them with awe ; they were within eighty yards of a thousand marksmen, every one of whom could take deliberate aim. At the word, every musket and rifle was poised—a moment intervened—then went forth the messengers of death. The entire front ranks of the lancers were riddled, not a ball appeared to have failed of its errand. This was followed by grape and cannister from Sherman's battery. The dead and wounded men and horses made a barricade of struggling life, over which they could not pass. Even at this time, their overpowering numbers, had it not been for this obstruction, might have enabled them to break through the line and gain the road in the rear of the plateau, and thus have modified or changed the fortune of the day. But those in the rear were appalled at the destruction of their companions, and the whole mass fled headlong from the field. As in every

other instance the Americans, for want of numbers and cavalry, could not pursue them, and the fugitives passed south of the plateau to be re-formed for another attack.

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Meantime a squadron of cavalry under Torrejon skirted the mountain base to the left, and penetrated to Buena Vista, whither the commands of Marshall and Yell had retired. General Taylor sent all the cavalry he could spare, under Colonel May, to reinforce that point. Torrejon fell back on his approach, and May returned to the plateau. Then Torrejon advanced again : this time the volunteers received him with a scattering fire ; but the Mexicans, confident in numbers, rode on rapidly toward the hacienda ; there they were held in check by a portion of the two battalions. It was here that Colonel Yell, as he made a charge, was killed at the head of his men. Torrejon himself was wounded, and Colonel May made his appearance again, this time with two field-pieces, and the Mexicans separated into two divisions and retreated out of danger.

On the plateau the battle had raged in one continuous cannonade : the Mexicans had on the ridge in front, a battery of eighteen and twenty-four pounders, principally manned by the San Patricio regiment, yet they could not silence the American guns. At this point there was a temporary lull in the storm.

But on the east side of the valley, to the rear of the plateau, a severe conflict was in progress. One of the Mexican divisions retreating from Buena Vista, had united with a large force sent by Santa Anna to make its way on the extreme left round to the American rear.

Colonel May with his dragoons and a portion of the Illinoisians and Indianians was engaged in the unequal contest. General Taylor sent to his aid a portion of the artillery and the dragoons, with some of the volunteer cavalry.

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1847. They soon accomplished the object by cutting off the retreat of the Mexicans who had passed so far beyond the American left. They were driven against the base of the mountain and thrown into inextricable confusion. Bragg advanced within close canister range, and with their wonted rapidity his guns played upon them: the shot tore and crashed through the bewildered multitude, and those next the mountain endeavored to escape by clambering up its sides. The whole force, about five thousand, became utterly helpless, while the wounded and dying were increasing at a fearful rate: the horses frantic with pain and terror added to the confusion. A few minutes more and they must have laid down their arms; at this crisis, as if to stay the arm of death, a white flag was seen approaching from General Taylor's position. When it came near the artillery ceased to fire.

Three Mexican officers had appeared as if for a parley; they professed to bear a message from the Mexican chief. When brought into the presence of General Taylor they wished to know "what he wanted." The reply was the surrender of the Mexican army. They asked time for consideration; the trick was not suspected, and the request was granted. A messenger bearing a white flag was hastened with orders to Captain Bragg to cease firing, as the Mexicans were about to lay down their arms.

General Wool was deputed to accompany the officers to Santa Anna, who took care not to be seen. As Wool perceived that the Mexicans continued to fire, though the Americans had ceased, he declared the conference at an end, and returned to his own army.

Meanwhile, under the protection of the flag of peace, the body of Mexicans in trouble stealthily crept along the base of the mountain out of danger, and joined their main army south of the plateau. Thus, whether designed or not, Santa Anna had extricated his soldiers, and had also learned from his spies—the Mexican officers—the small

number of American troops—only three regiments of infantry and three guns—on the plateau, and that their main portion was far to the left, whither they had driven the Mexican right wing. Shielding his men from sight by ravines and spurs of the mountain, he had for hours been concentrating all his strength for a final assault upon the American central position at the pass. At several points he had met with partial success ; but in the main his plans had been frustrated by the indomitable courage, rapid movements, and hard fighting of his opponents.

Having concentrated his forces, he now brought his reserve into action, aided by the troops of the right wing which had just been rescued from peril. The whole force—twelve thousand strong—the front regiments composed of veterans, with General Perez at their head, moved up the ascent from the valley. The scattered companies (Illinois and Kentucky volunteers) in advance of the line were taken by surprise at the sudden appearance of the enemy in such numbers ; the enemy, which an hour or two before they had seen in utter confusion, retreating from the field. The multitude, pouring in volley after volley of musketry, pressed on and compelled these companies to retire toward the lines. O'Brien was left almost alone with his artillery, yet for a time he maintained his place. His shot buried themselves in the ranks of the approaching enemy ; but the mass closed up the gaps and steadily came nearer and nearer. For round shot he substituted canister, and they were checked for a time ; but it was their last struggle to secure the field. Trusting to numbers and heedless of death, the mass again moved on. Presently there was not an infantry soldier to support the guns, nor a horse to draw them ; still the gunners stood to their places, and retreated only as their pieces recoiled. At length overtaken every officer or gunner either killed

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CHAP. or wounded, O'Brien himself among the latter, they aban-
LII. doned them to the enemy.

1847. Meanwhile the companies of volunteers took refuge in a deep ravine to the right of the pass. The Mexicans lined its crest and kept upon them a continuous volley of musketry, to which they could scarcely reply, while their cavalry dashed forward to the mouth of the ravine to cut off their retreat. Fortunately the route of the cavalry brought them within range of Washington's battery at the pass. His guns were immediately brought to bear upon them ; they recoiled, relinquished their object, and began to retreat, while, by throwing shot over the heads of the volunteers who were now moving out, he harassed them exceedingly. The Mexican infantry, now unopposed, descended into the ravine, and cruelly murdered every wounded man they could find.

It was in this desperate encounter that Colonels Hardin, McKee, and Henry Clay, junior, (son of the distinguished statesman,) and great numbers of brave and generous men were slain.

The crisis of the conflict was near. O'Brien overcome there was no one to oppose ; and, encouraged by their success, the Mexicans pushed on with unusual vigor. At the commencement of this last attack the Americans were more or less scattered over the plateau and on the extremes of the field ; but the heavy roar of the battle made known that the issue of the day was about to be determined, and they hastened, of their own accord, to the post of danger.

It was an hour of intense anxiety to General Taylor, as he saw this unexpected host advance in such order and with such determination. The battle had already lasted eight hours ; the toil of so many rapid movements over the rough field had wearied his men, while the approaching enemy's force was fresh, and in number four to one

of his own. Was it possible to hold them in check till his own troops could come up ? He sent messenger after messenger to urge them on. In one direction could be seen Bragg, and in another Sherman, driving with whip and spur the jaded horses attached to their batteries ; while in the distance to the left of the pass, could be seen the Mississippians and Indianians, under their officers Davis and Lane, rapidly advancing, now in sight and now disappearing as they crossed the deep ravines.

Bragg was the first to come up. As he drew near he sent to ask for infantry to support his guns ; but Taylor could only send him word that not a man could be had ; he must fight to the death. The Mexicans were rushing on, and before he could unlimber his guns they were within a few yards of their muzzles ; but his men seemed to be inspired with an energy beyond human, and with a rapidity greater than ever, discharge followed discharge. The enemy faltered, as if waiting for them to cease but for a moment, that they might rush forward and capture them. No such moment was granted ; they still hesitated, and were thrown into confusion. By this time Sherman came up and opened with his wonted effect ; in a few minutes more Washington's battery at the pass moved forward and did the same. Davis and Lane had just closed with the enemy's right flank and commenced to pour in their fire. The Mexicans recoiled on all sides ; they could not carry the pass ; hope seemed to desert every breast, and pell-mell they rushed from the field.

Thus ended the battle of Buena Vista. It had lasted ten hours ; had been a series of encounters, in different parts of the field, each one severe in itself, but indecisive in result. Never before had an American army contended with such odds, and under disadvantages so great. It was won by the superior handling of the flying artillery, which thinned and broke the foremost ranks of the enemy before they could bring their superior numbers to bear.

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1847. When repulsed, they invariably fell back out of danger, to be again re-formed for another attack, while the Americans, for want of cavalry and sufficient numbers, could not pursue and disperse them beyond the power of rallying. On the part of the latter the day was one of unremitting toil ; their fewness of numbers, the extent of the field, the roughness of the ground, and the numerous attacks, forced them to be continually in rapid and laborious motion. General Taylor was in the midst of flying balls for eight hours, only one of which passed through his coat. He was ably seconded by his officers, not one of whom swerved from a post of danger nor neglected a duty—especially could this be said of General Wool, who seemed to be at every point where he was specially needed. The superior skill with which the American guns were handled was due to the exertions of the West Point officers, who spared no effort to infuse into the ranks their own spirit of discipline ; and equal honor is due to the volunteers, who, with but few exceptions, cheerfully submitted to the requisite drudgery of drill.

The Mexicans hoped to win the battle by musketry and charges of cavalry ; their heavy guns they did not bring upon the field, but placed them in battery in front of the pass.

The influence of this battle was more important than any one of the war. It destroyed that fictitious prestige which Santa Anna had obtained over his countrymen by his vain boastings and unsparing censure of their previous commanders, and it greatly increased their dread of the invader's artillery ; henceforth they met them only from behind defences, and avoided them in the open field.

Night closed in. The Americans took every precaution to repel the attack which was expected the next morning. Strong pickets were posted to prevent the enemy from passing round to the right or left. The troops

having been supplied with their rations, remained on the field for the night. Fresh companies were brought from the rear to supply the place of those who took charge of the wounded, who were carried in wagons to Saltillo. The loss of the day had been two hundred and sixty-seven killed, and four hundred and fifty-six wounded.

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The morning dawned, but not a Mexican could be seen. Santa Anna had retreated, leaving his wounded to their fate, and his dead unburied. More than two thousand of his men, including many officers of high rank, lay scattered over the field.

Scouts hurried on to reconnoitre ; in an hour or two they returned with information that he was far on his way toward Agua Nueva. General Taylor and his staff immediately moved on in the same direction, but sent in advance Major Bliss, with a proposition to Santa Anna for an exchange of prisoners, and a request that he would send for his wounded, as well as another assurance that the American government was desirous of peace. An exchange of prisoners took place, but as Santa Anna professed to have no means to remove his wounded, he left them to be cared for by the Americans ; as to the proposition for peace he replied, in his usual style of bravado, that he should prosecute the war until the invaders had left his country.

The Mexican soldiers were in a truly deplorable condition ; they were without hospital supplies, and almost literally without food, and no means to obtain it—a desert before them, and a victorious enemy in their rear. Santa Anna urged on his retreat toward San Luis Potosi, whence one month before he had set out sure of victory ; desertions had now reduced his great army to a mere remnant, and that discouraged by defeat, while confidence in his generalship was gone. In addition, signs of another revolution were appearing in the city of Mexico, by which his enemies might triumph.

CHAP.
LII.

1847.
Feb.
27.

General Taylor advanced to Agua Nueva, thence two days later he detached Colonel Belknap, with the dragoons and a regiment of infantry—transported in wagons across the desert—to surprise the rear guard of the Mexican army at Encarnacion. The feat was successfully accomplished. All along the way from the battle-field were found multitudes of poor Mexican soldiers, left by their heartless companions to die of their wounds, hunger, and fatigue. As soon as possible the humane Taylor sent them provisions, and had those that could be removed conveyed to Saltillo and placed under the care of the American surgeons.

While these operations were in progress, the two Mexican generals, Urrea and Romero, with their corps of cavalry, had appeared on the line of communication between Saltillo and the Rio Grande. They had captured some wagons, taken some prisoners, and spread alarm all along the line. A sufficient force was now sent to chastise them, but they rapidly retreated out of danger by the pass of Tula, leaving the valley of the Rio Grande to the Americans.

Mar.
30.

General Taylor, by easy stages, retraced his steps, and encamped once more at the Walnut Springs, near Monterey.

Whilst the line of communication was broken, vague rumors reached the United States, first, that Santa Anna was approaching Monterey with a large army, then, that the American army had been overpowered. These apprehensions were greatly increased by a volunteer Colonel at Camargo, who, in his alarm, sent an urgent appeal for fifty thousand men to be sent immediately to the seat of war. Presently came intelligence of the battle of Buena Vista; and the intense anxiety of the people was changed to admiration for the men who, under such trying circumstances, had maintained the honor of their

country. Gen. Taylor, of whom so little had been known before the commencement of this war, rose higher and higher in public estimation. Some months later, when he returned to the United States, he was received with demonstrations of the highest respect.

It was an era in the education of young women in the United States, when in 1837 Mount Holyoke Seminary, in Massachusetts, began its grand work. This institution was the outgrowth of the untiring and consecrated zeal of Miss Mary Lyon, who was born in the town of Buckland in that State. Miss Lyon was very remarkable for her power of acquiring knowledge, and also for her skill in imparting the same to pupils. Because of limited means, her very hard lot in obtaining an education—which she did by her own exertions—suggested the field of her usefulness and appealed to her generous nature, and she devised a plan by which she hoped that girls situated as she had been could in part support themselves while being educated, by performing a portion of the household work of the institution.

In that day—to their shame be it said—legislatures appropriated funds only to colleges for young men, and Miss Lyon was forced to appeal to private Christian benevolence. After years of her persistent efforts, funds were secured; a substantial building was erected and equipped; and Holyoke opened its first session with eighty pupils. Miss Lyon presided over the institution till her death in 1849; this was after thirty-five years of active teaching and unremitting toil.

The reasons for founding Holyoke Seminary still remained, and that this fact elicited the practical sympathy of the benevolent, let our Vassars, Wellesleys, Smiths, Pittsburg College, and many other institutions for young women bear witness.

CHAP
LII.

1847.

1797.
Feb. 28.

1849.

CHAPTER LIII.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Emigration to Oregon.—John C. Fremont; his Explorations; his difficulties with the Mexican Governor.—American Settlers in alarm.—California free from Mexican Rule.—Monterey on the Pacific captured.—Commodores Sloat and Stockton.—Kearney's Expedition.—Santa Fé taken; a Government organized.—Doniphan's Expedition.—Various Conflicts.—Chihuahua occupied.—An Insurrection; its Suppression.—Trial of Fremont.

CHAP.
LIII.

1842.

THE importance of securing Oregon by settlement had especially attracted the attention of the people of the Western States. The stories of hunters, and the glowing descriptions given in the newspapers of that distant region, imbued the minds of the adventurous with an enthusiasm as ardent as that which glowed in the breasts of the earlier explorers and settlers of this country two and a half centuries before. A thousand emigrants, consisting of men, their wives and children, driving before them their flocks and herds, their only weapon the trusty rifle—alike to protect from savage violence and to procure sustenance from the wandering droves of buffalo and deer—set out from the confines of Missouri. They passed up the long eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, over them through the South Pass, thence to Lewis' River and down it to the Columbia, on whose shores they found a resting place, after a toilsome journey of six months, through an untrodden mountainous region.

These emigrants were followed the next year by

another company, consisting of two thousand, who passed over the same route.

CHAP
LIII.

These enterprising settlers, with the few who had preceded them, labored under many difficulties, as the United States government did not exercise the jurisdiction which it claimed over the territory. A bill introduced into the Senate, granted lands to actual settlers, and made provision to maintain their rights as citizens by extending over them the laws of the territory of Iowa. Though this bill passed only the Senate, it gave encouragement to those persons who desired to emigrate to the banks of the Columbia. A colony thus planted by private enterprise, and thus slightly encouraged by the government, became the germ of another State, (Oregon) now added to the Union.

1843.

1859

It was in connection with this awakened spirit of emigration that Colonel John C. Fremont, then a lieutenant, made his first exploring expedition. He was a young man, once friendless and unknown, but had risen by his own talents and industry, and on the recommendation of Poinsett, then Secretary of War, had been appointed in the Topographical Engineers by President Jackson. Fremont solicited and obtained permission from the government to explore the Rocky Mountains and their passes, but at this time with special reference to the South Pass and its vicinity. In six months he returned ; he had accurately determined the location of that Pass, which now became a fixed point in the path of emigration to Oregon.

Soon after his return, Fremont again asked for orders to prosecute still further explorations in that distant region. They were given ; but after his preparations were made, and he and his party had reached the frontiers of Missouri, the government countermanded his orders, on

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LIII.

1843.

the singular plea that he had armed his party, in addition to their rifles, with a small mountain howitzer. But fortunately for science and the country, the letter containing the order came to Mrs. Fremont, whom he had requested to examine his letters and forward only those he ought to receive. She deemed the government countermand one that he ought not to receive, and Fremont knew nothing of its existence until he returned from his eventful tour. On his return he was received with honor, his conduct approved, and on the recommendation of the Secretary of War, William Wilkins, the brevet of captain was conferred upon him by President Tyler.

He had received special orders to survey the route of travel from the frontiers of Missouri to the tide-waters of the Columbia. This was accomplished by the first of November, after six months' labor, though often he diverged from the main route to make useful observations. He now resolved to return immediately, and when on the way to explore the vast territory which must lie between the route he had passed over and the Pacific. To pass through this region in midwinter was no easy matter. Soon deep snows appeared on the highlands, and the party descended into the valley, now known as the Great Basin, out of which flows no stream. On the west, the mountains loomed up with their snowy tops ; every thing was strange ; the Indians, terrified at the approach of white men, fled : a desert appeared, and with it the vision of starvation and death. No place could they find, as they had hoped, where they might winter and derive their sustenance from hunting the animals of the forest. They passed down to the latitude of San Francisco, as found by astronomical observations ; but between them and that place, the nearest point where they could obtain aid from civilized man, rose mountains, their snowy tops piercing the clouds ; their sides frowning precipices thousands of feet high. No Indian would act as a guide through their passes. The

whole party, by excessive toil and want of food, were reduced to skeletons, both men and horses. Finally they "crawled over the Sierra Nevada," and arrived at the head-waters of the Sacramento. "In this eventful exploration, all the great features of the western slope of our continent were brought to light—the Great Salt Lake, the Utah Lake, the Little Salt Lake—at all which places, then desert, the Mormons now are; the Sierra Nevada, then solitary in the snow, now crowded with Americans, digging gold from its banks; the beautiful valleys of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, then alive with wild horses, elk, deer, and wild fowls, now smiling with American cultivation. The Great Basin itself, and its contents; the Three Parks; the approximation of the great rivers which, rising together in the central region of the Rocky Mountains, go off east and west towards the rising and the setting sun,—all these, and other strange features of a new region, more Asiatic than American, were brought to light, and revealed to public view in the results of this exploration."¹

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LIII.

1843.

In May, Fremont set out on his third expedition to explore still further the Great West. There were now indications that war would soon result between Mexico and the United States. But to avoid exciting the suspicions of the Mexicans, he obtained permission from General De Castro, commandant at Monterey on the Pacific, to pass the following winter in the uninhabitable portion of the valley of the San Joaquin. But before long, De Castro professed to believe that his object was not scientific exploration, but to excite a rebellion among the American settlers, and he undertook to either drive him out of the country or capture the whole party. A messenger, secretly sent by the United States consul at

1845

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LIII.

1845. Monterey, Mr. Larkin, suddenly appeared in his camp and informed him of these unfriendly designs. Fremont immediately chose a strong position on a mountain, raised the American flag, and he and his sixty determined followers resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. After waiting four days, as De Castro hesitated to attack his camp, he came down from the mountain and set out for Oregon through the region of the Tlamath lakes.

1846. During the former part of May he was overtaken by a United States officer, Lieutenant Gillespie, who brought a letter of introduction from James Buchanan, Secretary of State, and verbal instructions to the effect that he should counteract any foreign scheme on California, and conciliate the good will of the inhabitants toward the United States.

Fremont was now on the confines of Oregon, but at once he turned back to California. When he arrived in the valley of the Sacramento, he found the whole community in a state of great excitement. Among the Mexicans two projects were in contemplation: one to massacre the American settlers; the other to place California under British protection, and thus shield themselves against the arms of the United States in case of a war with Mexico.

A deputation from the American settlers hastened to lay before him a statement of these facts; and, in addition, that the Indians had been incited against them; that General De Castro was on his march to attack them, and also that a British fleet was daily expected upon the coast.

Though the countries were at peace when he left home, the approach of De Castro with a hostile army demanded decisive measures, and Fremont accepted the trust in self-defence. The American settlers flocked to his camp, brought their horses, their ammunition, their provisions

and submitted cheerfully to the strictness of military discipline.

In one month's time, after a few conflicts, Mexican rule was at an end in northern California. The flag of independence was raised, its device a grizzly bear—indicative of indomitable courage—while General De Castro was retreating, and all other schemes completely prostrated.

Commodore Sloat, commanding on the Pacific, received directions from the Secretary of the Navy, George Bancroft. "If you ascertain with certainty," said the Secretary, "that Mexico has declared war against the United States, you will at once possess yourself of the port of San Francisco, and blockade or occupy such other ports as your force may permit."

The commodore was at Mazatlan, and a British squadron, under Admiral Seymour, was there also. The former, from certain indications, suspected he was watched; if so, he determined to foil the admiral. Accordingly, he weighed anchor and sailed west as if going to the Sandwich Islands, Seymour followed, but in the night Sloat tacked and ran up the coast to Monterey, while Seymour continued on to the islands. Sloat arrived at Monterey and offered the usual civilities to the town; they were declined on a frivolous excuse. It was evident that his presence was not agreeable. Five days later he heard of the movements of Fremont and the settlers, and he at once took possession of the town. Then he sent a courier to the latter, who hastened with his mounted men to join the commodore. They were mutually astonished on finding that neither of them had acted under direct orders from their own government. The flag of independent California was now supplanted by the colors of the United States.

Commodore Stockton in a few days came into the harbor, to whom Sloat turned over the command, as he himself intended to return home. The next day came Admiral

CHAP
LIII.

1846.
June
1.

July
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July
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July
15

CHAP. Seymour in his flag-ship. He saw with surprise the
LIII. American flag floating over the town, the American
1846. riflemen encamped near by, and an American fleet in the
Aug harbor. One month later Stockton and Fremont took
17. possession of Los Angeles, the capital of Upper California.

California had been for some time in a half revolutionary state. The inhabitants were dissatisfied with Mexican rule. Some wished to join the United States, and some to seek the protection of Great Britain. The conciliatory course pursued by Fremont did much in winning the Californians to the American standard.

In the latter part of July the "Army of the West," under Colonel Kearney, consisting of eighteen hundred men, was concentrated near Bent's Fort on the Arkansas. The Secretary of War, William L. Marcy, had given him instructions to take possession of New Mexico and Upper California, to establish therein temporary civil governments, to make known to the inhabitants the designs of the United States to provide them with free government, and that they would be called upon to elect representatives to their own territorial Legislatures.

The expedition moved rapidly toward Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. The population of that province was miscellaneous in its character; Indians, New Mexicans, (a mixture of Spanish and Indian,) some American settlers, and a few of Spanish blood. The mass of the population was half-civilized, by whom honor and morality were reckoned of little worth. They were cowardly, treacherous and cruel; ignorant and superstitious. The Indians, for the most part, held the idolatrous notions of the ancient Aztecs, and were so debased that a slight reward would insure the committal of almost any crime.

The governor, Armigo, a bad man and a bad ruler, made an effort to meet the invaders. He assembled about four thousand men, of all grades, and, with six field-pieces,

took position in a mountain gorge some fifteen miles in advance of Santa Fé ; but for some reason, best known to himself, he abandoned his strong post and rapidly retreated southward, carrying off his own property, and leaving the people and the public interests to take care of themselves.

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LIII

1846.

Kearney entered Santa Fé and was courteously received by the lieutenant governor, Vigil. The following day the people assembled in the plaza and had made known to them the designs of the United States government. The majority professed themselves pleased with the change. In a few days the chiefs of the Pueblo Indians also gave in their adhesion to the new order of things.

Aug.
18.

Kearney erected and garrisoned a fort, and in the meanwhile made an excursion one hundred and fifty miles to the south to meet a force which a false rumor said was marching against him. On his return he established a government, at the head of which he placed Charles Bent, a worthy citizen of the territory, as governor. After pledging himself to protect the inhabitants against the inroads of the Eutaw and Navajoe Indians, he set out for California. His company consisted of only three hundred dragoons, but on the route, when near the river Gila, he met a messenger—the celebrated guide and pioneer Kit Carson—who brought intelligence of what had recently taken place in California under Stockton and Fremont. He now sent back two companies of dragoons under Major Sumner, and continued on himself with the remainder.

Thus, within three months after the orders had been issued at Washington, a force had been organized ; a march of a thousand miles accomplished ; and territory subdued, and a new government established on apparently a stable foundation. A half-civilized and vicious population are not fit subjects for self-government, and this in a short time proved a failure. Had Kearney remained to preserve discipline, that result might have

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LIII.

1846. been different, or at least delayed. The town was filled with gambling-houses, and grog-shops, and haunts of every vice, while the free manners of the volunteers excited against themselves the hatred of the inhabitants, who laid their plans for revenge, and only waited an opportunity to carry them into effect.

Nov. Colonel Kearney gave directions to Colonel Doniphan, whom he left at Santa Fé, to enter the country of the Navajoe Indians, living on the waters of the Gulf of California, and induce them to make peace. Doniphan, with a thousand Missouri volunteers, in three divisions and by as many routes, entered the territory of the hostile tribe, and obtained from them a treaty, by which they agreed to refrain from depredations upon the people of New Mexico. This march, so remarkable, was made in the winter, across mountains covered with snow, and through an unknown region inhabited by barbarous tribes. Doniphan delayed but a short time in negotiating with the Indians, then he passed on to the south-east to meet General Wool at Chihuahua.

1847.
Jan.
14. The absence of so many men with Doniphan afforded the looked-for opportunity to commence an insurrection in New Mexico. The plot was deep laid and kept a profound secret. Suddenly Governor Bent was murdered, with five other officers of the territory, some of whom were Mexicans, at Taos, fifty miles north of Santa Fé. The same day witnessed the murder of many others in the upper valley of the Rio Grande.

Jan.
23 Colonel Price, of the Missouri mounted volunteers, was at Santa Fé with the main force, while detachments were scattered over the country grazing their horses on the plains. With only three hundred and fifty men, Price hastened to meet the insurgents, in the valley of Taos. They, numbering about fifteen hundred, took position in a

pass of the road through the highlands. Price routed them and continued his march up the valley ; but the insurgents made a stand at another pass, still stronger by nature, so narrow that three men could scarcely march abreast, while it was protected by rugged mountains covered with cedars growing in the crevices of the rocks. An advance party clambered up through the cedars, and the terrified Mexicans took to flight.

Their principal place of defence was taken in a few days, and the rebellion suppressed. Peace was promised only on the condition that the ringleaders should be given up ; this was complied with, and several of them were hanged at San Fernando : a hard fate for those who were fighting against the invaders of their country.

Colonel Doniphan, accompanied by a large number of merchant wagons, crossed without loss a region destitute of water or grass—a desert ninety miles in extent, known as the Jornada del Muerto, or Journey of Death—the road marked by the graves of former travellers and the bones of beasts of burden. In one instance his men and animals nearly gave out from thirst, when providentially a rain relieved them ; a remarkable occurrence in itself, as at that season of the year rain seldom falls in that region.

He learned that the Mexicans, under General Heredia, who commanded in the North-western Department, were awaiting his approach ; nothing daunted he dashed on. His force, including merchants, numbered but eight hundred and fifty-six effective men, nearly all backwoodsmen ; all mounted, armed with rifles, and good marksmen ; untrammelled by discipline, each one fought as he listed. Near Brazito, in the valley of the Rio Grande, they dismounted and were scattered seeking wood and water, when the scouts brought word that the Mexicans were approaching. The alarm was sounded ;

CHAP.
LIII.

1847.

1846
Dec.
26.

CHAP. all flew to arms, and amid a din of shouts fell into ranks
LIII. as best they could. The Mexicans—more than twelve
1846. hundred strong, and with a piece of artillery—drew near ;
an officer bearing a black flag made his appearance, and
in a magniloquent speech, declaring that no quarter would
be given, summoned the Missourians to surrender. Doni-
phan's answer was characteristic and defiant.

The Mexican cavalry extended far to the right and
left, while the infantry, firing volleys of musketry, ad-
vanced in front. Presently they came within rifle range,
and the backwoodsmen threw away scarcely a shot. The
whole body of the enemy broke and fled—they lost nearly
two hundred men, killed and wounded, in a few minutes.
Only seven Americans were wounded.

Two days later Doniphan entered the beautiful vil-
lage of El Paso, “where a neat cultivation, a comfort-
able people, fields, orchards, and vineyards, and a
hospitable reception, offered the rest and refreshment
which toils, and dangers, and victory had won.” There
1847. he waited till artillery could join him from Santa Fé, and
Feb. then commenced his march upon Chihuahua.
8.

The Mexicans kept out of the way ; but after a march
of nineteen days it was ascertained that they had taken
position at a pass of the Sacramento, a small branch of
the Rio Grande. Here General Herredia made a stand
with a force of four thousand men, protected by intrench-
ments across the pass, and on the neighboring hills, but
defences were of little avail against men who never
hesitated to attack an enemy. Doniphan suddenly
diverted his route from the main road, forced his way
round to the flank of their advance, and before the Mexi-
cans could bring their guns to bear, he was in full play
upon them with his own artillery. Their cavalry as well
as artillery, fell back and retired across the river. Now
the intrenchments were to be forced ; this was done in
true backwoods style. Each man rushed on and fought

on his own responsibility ; some rode along the entrechments seeking a place to enter, while others dismounted and crept up to pick off their defenders. The Mexicans fled from the presence of their assailants, who leaped over the works and secured every place within reach. Meanwhile a party of mounted volunteers crossed the river to storm, on horseback, a battery which crowned the hill on the opposite side. This singular engagement cost the Mexicans three hundred killed and a greater number wounded, while the Missourians lost but one killed, one mortally wounded, and a few disabled. The enemy, completely routed, abandoned every thing ; the officers fled toward the south, and the common soldiers to the mountains.

CHAP
LIII.1847.
Feb
28.

The following day Doniphan, without opposition, entered Chihuahua—a city of nearly thirty thousand inhabitants—raised the American flag on its citadel, and, in the name of his government, took possession of the province. He was in a very perilous situation, with only a thousand men, from among whom almost every vestige of discipline had vanished. In this city were many American merchants, most of whom were wealthy. Doniphan's measures were prudent and just, and they conciliated the inhabitants.

Mar.
2.

On the 27th of April he set out for Saltillo, where he arrived in a month without opposition, except from a few Indians. From Saltillo he marched to Matamoras ; and as the term of his men was about to expire, they were taken to New Orleans and there discharged.

April

The most remarkable expedition on record. They had passed over nearly five thousand miles, three thousand of which was a march through an unknown and hostile country swarming with foes. They returned in one year ; no body of troops had ever in so short a time passed over so much space or surmounted so many obstacles.

Fremont was the military commandant of California,

CHAP.
LIII.

1847.

Aug.

under a commission from Commodore Stockton. Soon after the Commodore sailed from San Francisco to Monterey, and thence to San Diego. The recently established government was placed in peril ; a deep laid plot was in train, and only a favorable opportunity was wanting to commence the insurrection. Fremont, by a rapid and secret march of one hundred and fifty miles, surprised and captured the main leader of the insurgents, Don J. Pico, who had been a prisoner, and had violated his parole. A court martial sentenced him to death. Fremont remitted the sentence, and thus won Pico's influence and aid in tranquilizing the country. He also endeavored to conciliate the inhabitants, and made no attack upon the hostile parties, which hovered around his march. He came up with the main Mexican force, under Don Andreas Pico, brother of the one whom he had just pardoned. He sent them a summons to surrender, and they agreed to deliver up their artillery and promised to return to their homes. They were not required to take the oath of allegiance, until a treaty of peace should be concluded between the United States and Mexico.

Dec.

Commodore Stockton now learned of the approach of General Kearney. The latter had experienced great difficulties on his march ; attacked by the enemy, he was placed in desperate circumstances at San Pasqual ; his provisions gone, his horses dead, his mules disabled, and most of his men sick, while the enemy in great numbers completely surrounded his camp and held possession of all the roads. Three brave men—Kit Carson, Lieutenant Beales, of the Navy, and an Indian—volunteered to find their way to San Diego, thirty miles distant, and inform Commodore Stockton of Kearney's peril. The Commodore promptly sent assistance, at whose appearance the enemy retired and Kearney was enabled to reach San Diego.

Jan
8.

A month later took place the battle at the river San

Gabriel. Then General Flores, chief of the insurgents, sent a flag of truce, proposing a cessation of hostilities in California, and to let the sovereignty of the territory be determined by the result of the war between the United States and Mexico. Stockton refused to accede to the request, and continued his march. Another flag of truce came in. Now it was offered to surrender the town of Los Angeles, if the rights of the people and their property should be preserved. On these conditions the capital of Upper California was surrendered a second time, and the possession of the country more firmly established than before the insurrection.

CHAP.
LIII.

1848.

Difficulties now arose among the officers in relation to the question who should be governor. But recent orders from Washington relieved Stockton of his civil functions, which devolved upon General Kearney as he happened to be on the ground. In truth, the civil government was only in name beyond the range of the American cannon.

Mar.

Fremont, however, refused to recognize the authority of Kearney, and was brought to trial charged with disobedience of orders and mutiny. The court found him guilty and sentenced him to be dismissed from the service. The President did not approve of all the findings of the court ; but, because of " the peculiar circumstances of the case and his previous meritorious and valuable services," remitted the sentence and restored him to his rank in the army. Fremont would not accept the clemency of the President, and thus admit that the proceedings of the court were just ; he at once resigned his commission. In a few weeks he set out at his own expense on his fourth tour of exploration in the Rocky Mountains.

CHAPTER LIV

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUDED.

Movement of Troops.—Vera Cruz invested.—Its Bombardment and Capitulation.—Santa Anna's Energy.—Battle of Cerro Gordo.—General Scott at Puebla.—His Misunderstandings with the Authorities at Washington.—Commissioner Trist.—Dissensions in Mexico.—Scott's Manifesto.—Reinforcements.—Advance upon the Capital.—El Penon turned.—Battle of Contreras; of Cherubusco.—Attempts to obtain Peace.—Conflict of Molino del Rey.—The Castle of Chapultepec captured.—The American Army enters the City.—Santa Anna again in the Field; dismissed from the Mexican Service.—Treaty of Peace.—Its Conditions.—Evacuation of Mexico.—Misunderstanding among the American Officers.—Discovery of Gold in California.—The Effects.—Death of John Quincy Adams.—The Wilmot Proviso.—The Presidential Election.

CHAP. WHILE these events were in progress, plans were formed
LIV. and partially executed to invade Mexico from the east;
1846. to secure Vera Cruz, the best harbor on the coast, and then, if peace could not be obtained, to march upon the capital itself.

Numerous delays impeded operations, and it was near the end of November before General Scott left Washington for the seat of war. The quarter-master, General Jessup, was already at New Orleans preparing transports for the troops; and communications were held with Commodore Connor in relation to the co-operation of the fleet. The troops, as already mentioned, drawn from Taylor's command, were speedily concentrated at convenient points on the coast, but the want of transports prevented their embarkation. The place of rendezvous was at the island

of Lobos, about one hundred and twenty-five miles north of Vera Cruz. At length the transports were ready, the troops, about twelve thousand strong, embarked, and, on the morning of the 9th of March, began to land near Vera Cruz. No enemy appeared to dispute the movement.

CHAP
LIV.

1147.

That city contained about fifteen thousand inhabitants. It was protected on its land side by numerous defences, while on the side of the Gulf, upon a reef, stood the Castle of San Juan d'Ulloa, garrisoned by a thousand men, who manned one hundred and twenty-eight heavy guns; the strongest fortification on the continent, with the exception of Quebec.

The next morning General Worth was ordered to commence the line of investment, which extended nearly six miles. The Mexicans appeared to oppose, but a few shots from the cannon dispersed them. The weather was excessively hot and sultry, and the march through the deep sand laborious and tedious.

The Governor of the State of Vera Cruz now issued a proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants of the town to defend themselves, while he should retire to harass the invaders and cut off their supplies. He soon appeared among the sand hills, but after a short skirmish, he thought it prudent to keep out of sight. The cannonading from the town and castle was incessant, but without much execution, owing to the distance. The men kept close in their trenches and did not reply. The munitions which had recently arrived were now landed, and the Americans were ready to commence the bombardment. General Scott summoned the city to surrender, stipulating, in order to save the lives and property of the inhabitants, that no batteries should be placed in the town to attack the Castle, unless the latter fired upon the Americans. General Morales, the commander of both the city and castle refused to comply with the summons.

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LIV.

1847.
Mar.
22.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the bombardment commenced. The Mexicans replied with every gun and mortar that could be brought to bear from the city and castle. Some of the smaller American vessels crept near and with their heavy guns added to the uproar; thus through the night the contest lasted. Other guns were brought, and other batteries erected within a thousand yards of the devoted city. They were hidden behind the chaparral; this was cleared away, and revealed to the besieged a new foe—the battery of Paixhan guns. Their astonishment was great; upon this new enemy who had dared to take position so near, they resolutely directed all their force for many hours. They fired rapidly and with precision, but failed to silence this battery.

How terrific was this storm! Twenty-one heavy guns pouring forth an incessant stream of balls and shells; the heavy shot broke through the solid walls and crashed through the houses, while the shells, still more terrible, scattered ruin and death in the streets, and burned every building that would burn. With scarcely any intermission, for four days this horrid work continued. The inhabitants, to be out of range, left their homes, and helplessly crowded upon the mole at the north part of the town, but ere long the balls began to come nearer and nearer. For twelve days the town had been invested, and its provisions were now nearly exhausted. The foreign residents implored their consuls to aid them. The latter obtained permission of Morales to send a flag of truce to General Scott. They asked a cessation of hostilities till the foreigners, with their families, and the Mexican women and children could leave the place. The request was properly refused, on the ground that permission had once been offered the foreign residents to leave the town, and that the petition to receive attention must come from the Mexican governor.

The American batteries re-opened as soon as the flag

entered the city, and continued during the night. At break of day another flag was seen approaching. The firing ceased. Negotiations commenced, and were terminated by the surrender of Vera Cruz, the Castle, the armaments and stores of each, and the soldiers as prisoners of war. These terms were agreed to by General Scott and Commodore Perry, who was in command of the squadron. The soldiers were to march out, with the honors of war, lay down their arms and be dismissed on their parole. The inhabitants were guaranteed in their civil and religious rights.

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Mar.
29.

General Worth was appointed governor of Vera Cruz. The advance division, under General Twiggs, soon commenced the march for the city of Mexico by way of Jalapa. The whole army amounted to only eight thousand five hundred men, but there preceded them an influence, that threw a shadow of despondency over the minds of the Mexicans.

April
8

Santa Anna had been very active since his defeat at Buena Vista, (which he labored hard to prove to his countrymen was not a defeat at all ; he only retreated for want of provisions,) in collecting another army, and he had already arrived with twelve thousand men at Cerro Gordo, a mountain pass at the eastern edge of the Cordilleras. In the midst of revolutions and distractions, he marched to this, the first of the "Thermopylæ," which he promised his countrymen to defend. Within two months after a disastrous defeat, without money, without the prestige of success, he had quelled an insurrection and established his own power, raised an army, portions of which had marched from three hundred to six hundred miles ; had constructed the fortifications at Cerro Gordo, and made a ditch twelve miles long to supply the camp with water.

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18.

The positions of the Mexicans were reconnoitred, and the attack commenced by the division under General Twiggs, sent to turn their position. Presently the whole front was assailed. The Americans seized another hill, El Telegrapho, up the sides of which they dragged heavy cannon, and began to play upon the defences of Cerro Gordo. The Mexicans replied with great vigor. During this mutual cannonade, Colonel Harney led his men rapidly down into the valley between the hills, and began to ascend the slope toward the defences on the top. The declivity was steep and rugged, and soon the entire fire of the battery was directed against these new assailants, but fortunately the balls for the most part passed over their heads. But without wavering they pressed up, carried one breastwork after another, until they presented themselves at the last, the strongest on the summit. Santa Anna, a short hour before, had ordered General Vasquez to defend this post to the last extremity, and he bravely stood his ground, and fell while encouraging his men ; confusion ensued, and the struggle was soon ended. The Americans poured in a stream of balls, forced their way through the breastwork, and then charged with the bayonet. The garrison fled down the western slope in the direction of Jalapa. Twiggs had passed round the hill, their retreat was cut off and they made prisoners. At this moment Santa Anna returned. He was enraged beyond bounds at seeing the discomfiture of his troops in a position which he was certain could have been maintained. He ordered General Canalizo to charge up the hill and re-capture Cerro Gordo ; the latter absolutely refused to obey, but led off his cavalry. Then Santa Anna mounted a mule taken from his carriage, and fled, leaving as trophies to his enemies his travelling equipage and his private papers.

The Mexican army was annihilated and scattered in all directions ; they had lost more than a thousand men, killed and wounded, three thousand prisoners, five

generals, all their artillery and military stores. This was not obtained without a severe loss to the invaders, who, in their rash and headlong charges in the face of batteries, and well protected musketeers, had lost four hundred and thirty-one, killed and wounded, of whom thirty-three were officers.

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Possession was taken of Jalapa, three days later of Perote, a stronghold on the summit of the Cordilleras, which was abandoned almost without a struggle, and then of the city of Puebla—containing eighty thousand inhabitants. At the latter city General Scott established his head-quarters.

April
19.May
15.

The volunteers' term of enlistments would expire in one month. They refused to re-enlist, but urged that they should be permitted to return to the United States, and there be disbanded, rather than on the soil of Mexico. They greatly dreaded the vomito, or yellow fever, as the season in which it was most severe was near at hand. Though they had no claims to be thus dismissed, General Scott indulged them, as it would be impossible to secure the capital, if the volunteers insisted on returning home at the end of their term of enlistments. Thus situated he was forced to remain inactive three months, till reinforcements arrived from the United States.

Aug.
15

During this interval several circumstances occurred which embarrassed the General-in-Chief's movements as well as disturbed his equanimity. First was the effort made, as he thought, to degrade him from his position in the army. This was to be accomplished by appointing over him a Lieutenant-General, a rank never held in the service except by Washington. The measure failed to pass the Senate. The same end was apparently aimed at in another measure by which power was given the President to appoint officers to any position in the army, without regard to their previous rank.

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Instead of money to buy provisions, came an order from the Secretary of War to authorize the collection of duties levied on merchandise entering the Mexican ports. In the same communication was another order to levy contributions upon the Mexican people. This Scott absolutely refused to obey, as General Taylor had also done, giving as a reason the poverty of that part of the country. Says Scott in a letter to the Secretary: "If it is expected at Washington, as is now apprehended, that this army is to support itself by forced contributions upon the country, we may ruin and exasperate the inhabitants and starve ourselves; for it is certain they would sooner remove or destroy the products of their farms, than allow them to fall into our hands without compensation. Not a ration for man or horse would be brought in except by the bayonet, which would oblige the troops to spread themselves out many leagues to the right and left in search of subsistence, and stop all military operations."¹ And he continued to buy provisions for the army at the regular prices of the country, and thus did much to allay a rising feeling of hatred toward the Americans.

The Secretary had given as a reason for this order, that the Mexican people thus laid under contribution, and compelled to bear the expenses of the war, would soon become willing to conclude a treaty of peace. This might apply to the public revenues, and that part of the order the General took measures to have complied with.

Other difficulties arose. After the capture of Vera Cruz General Scott suggested to the President the sending of commissioners to head-quarters to treat for peace, should an opportunity occur. For this important duty, the president appointed Mr. N. P. Trist, whose qualifications were that he had been Consul at Havana, could

¹ Gen. Scott's letter to the Sec. of War, as quoted by Ripley, Vol. ii., p. 95.

speak Spanish and professed to understand the Mexican character, his skill as a diplomatist could be inferred only from the fact that he was "Chief Clerk" in the State Department. Having in his possession the draft of a treaty fully drawn out at the department of State, he left Washington and arrived at Vera Cruz. He also bore a despatch from the Secretary of State, Mr. Buchanan, to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Relations. The plan of the treaty and his instructions he was directed to make known confidentially both to General Scott and Commodore Perry. The Secretary of War, Mr. Marcy, wrote to the General-in-Chief, informing him of the mission, but in general terms, and directed him to suspend active military operations till further orders, unless he was attacked.

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Instead of making known to General Scott the designs of his mission as directed, Mr. Trist sent a short note to head-quarters from Vera Cruz, and transmitted the sealed despatch to be forwarded to the Mexican Minister, and the letter from Secretary Marcy; the latter could not be understood without the explanations which Mr. Trist alone could give. The general could only see in this an underhand attempt to degrade him by making him in some way subordinate to the "Chief Clerk." However, in a few days he wrote to Mr. Trist, what he knew of the views of the Mexican people and government in relation to a treaty of peace, to which at present they were opposed. In conclusion, he remarked, that the suspension of hostilities belonged properly to the military commander on the field, and not to a Secretary of War a thousand miles distant.

In reply Trist gave full explanation of his mission, but in disrespectful and arrogant terms, assumed to be the aide-de-camp of the President, and in that capacity to order the General-in-Chief.¹ This correspondence led to

¹ Ripley's War with Mexico, Vol. ii., pp. 100, 147.

CHAP. much harsh feeling and retarded the advancement of the
LIV. cause. At length explanations in relation to the com-
missioner of peace came to the general from the authori-
ties at Washington. The Secretary of State severely
1847. censured Mr. Trist "for his presuming to command the
General-in-Chief."

Santa Anna fled from Cerro Gordo to Orizaba, where he remained some time to organize bands of guerillas to harass the American trains, which would be on their way from Vera Cruz. Afterward he returned to Mexico to find his popularity on the wane. For a time the Mexicans were paralyzed with consternation. Their army on which they had depended so much had been totally routed at Cerro Gordo. The invincible enemy was pressing on ; not a barrier intervened between them and the capital. The city was filled with factions ; the national councils were divided ; ambitious men forgot their patriotism in their desire for self-aggrandizement. The treasury was bankrupt, its only resource forced loans. Yet in the face of all these difficulties, Santa Anna did succeed in raising an army of twenty-five thousand men with sixty pieces of artillery, and in having the city fortified. After all he was the best commander the nation could afford, and the soldiers once more put themselves under his direction, to repel the invaders of their country and their sacred homes. They did not flock to his standard from a prestige of victory, for even when his boasts were still ringing in their ears, he had been ignominiously defeated ; nor were they induced by the confidence reposed in the integrity of a great and good man, to whom, as if to a superior being, the multitude turn in time of great peril ; but from sheer necessity.

Santa Anna understood the Mexican character. By intrigue and the exercise of a vigorous arm, he seized property, and imprisoned or banished his opponents ; by pre-

tending to be desirous of peace he gained time, and dishonestly entered upon negotiations ; offered himself to be bribed, and was accepted. His plans were cunningly devised : if they succeeded, the glory would all redound to his name ; if they failed, the censure could be thrown upon others.

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Thus he employed the three months that General Scott was forced to wait for the arrival of reinforcements. Had the volunteers consented to remain in the service six months longer, in all probability the capture of Mexico and a treaty of peace would have ended the campaign, and the blood spared which was shed in such profusion in the subsequent conflicts.

When at Jalapa General Scott issued a proclamation to the people of Mexico. This manifesto, in its tone and spirit, was well adapted to the state of affairs of the country, in showing that the true policy of the Mexican people was to conclude a treaty on the liberal terms offered by the government of the United States. The proclamation was issued at the instance of several Mexican gentlemen of influence, one of whom composed it in original Spanish, as it was dictated by the general. It was well received by the people in the country ; but Santa Anna captured a courier, who was bearing copies of it to the capital. He at once discovered by the style that it was not a translation, and he proclaimed with his usual virtuous indignation, that it was the production of some Mexican traitor, and thus neutralized its effects on the people of the city.

April
20.

At this time, he had by secret agents intimated to Mr. Trist that he was desirous of peace, and plainly that money would be still more acceptable : if a million of dollars were placed at his disposal something might be done. That this proposition might be considered, a reconciliation took place between the general and the com-

June
25.

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missioner ; as neither could well act without the other General Pillow, who had just arrived at Puebla, was also admitted to these conferences. He was a particular friend of the President, and, owing to the "informal and confidential request" sent from Washington, this participation was granted. Communications were continued with Santa Anna, but with no more important result than that the latter received ten thousand dollars of the secret service money at the disposal of General Scott.

As might have been anticipated, it was soon seen that Santa Anna's only object was to obtain money and gain time, and General Scott made preparations to advance upon the city as soon as the reinforcements under Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce would arrive from Vera Cruz. Meantime, the way to the city had been thoroughly reconnoitred, and General Worth sent forward with the first division. The whole army consisted of not more than ten thousand men, as great numbers had been left in the hospitals at Perote.

The region through which they marched was a high table land beautiful in the extreme, well watered, interspersed with valleys and mountains, whose slopes were covered with the richest verdure, while in the distance their snow-capped summits glittered in the bright sunshine of August. Almost from the same spot where more than three hundred years before Cortez and his followers viewed the distant temples of the city of Montezuma, the Americans hailed with cheers the city of Mexico.

The passes on the direct route had been well fortified, and were well garrisoned in the confident expectation that their positions could not be turned. The strongest of these was El Penon, to capture which the American engineers stated would require the loss of three thousand lives. General Scott was proverbially careful of the lives of his soldiers; the sacrifice must be avoided. The vicinity of the city was reconnoitred in the most daring manner.

and it was discovered that the defences south and west were not so strongly fortified. CHAP
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The general diverted his course to the left and turned El Penon on the south side, and under the direction of skilful engineers crossed chasms and ravines deemed impassable, and therefore but imperfectly guarded. General Twiggs led the advance, and encamped at Chalco on the lake of the same name. Worth followed, took the lead, and with his division halted at the town of San Augustin, about eight miles from the city. In his front was the strong fortress of San Antonio, now the head-quarters of Santa Anna, who left El Penon, when he found that the Americans were on their march round to the south side of the city. North-west of San Antonio and four miles from the city was the village of Churubusco, rendered strong by a series of intrenchments. Not far to the west of the village of San Augustin was the fortified camp of Contreras, which contained six thousand men ; in the rear between the camp and the city were placed twelve thousand men in reserve. The whole number of Mexicans in these various defences was about thirty-five thousand, with nearly one hundred pieces of artillery of various sizes. 1847.

General Persifer F. Smith proposed to attack the camp at Contreras, which was under the command of General Valencia. The night had been one of cold rain and storm and intense darkness, except when enlivened by the fitful glare of the lightning. At three o'clock in the morning, the expedition set out ; the soldiers, lest they should become separated on the march, were directed to take hold of each other—at sunrise the conflict commenced. The Mexicans were but partially surprised, still the impetuous attack effectually routed them ; three thousand of their number were made prisoners, eighty officers and thirty-five pieces of artillery. Among the latter were two pieces taken at Buena Vista, now recap- Aug.
17.

Aug.
19.

CHAP. LIV. tured by a portion of the regiment to which they originally belonged. Thus commenced this eventful day—severer
1847. conflicts were yet to come.

Generals Shields and Pierce had, during the night, thrown their divisions between Santa Anna and Contreras. The fugitives from the latter place had fled to Churubusco, and there fresh troops had also arrived from the city ; it seemed from the preparations, that here a desperate defence was to be made.

A convent, a very strong stone building, was well fortified and pierced for muskets and cannon, also the head of the bridge over the river was well defended.

In an hour or two General Scott arrived ; as he rode along through the army he was received with hearty cheers. The morning's success had filled the soldiers with enthusiasm, and they hoped on that day to end the war.

Santa Anna himself was busily engaged in arranging his men beyond the Churubusco River—whose banks were lined with the maguey plant, which shielded nearly all his force from view.

The rain of the previous night had flooded the lowlands in the vicinity ; the fortifications were masked by trees and fields of corn ; the latter flooded, and every part well known to the enemy, whose guns were so arranged as to sweep them perfectly. When the Americans commenced the attack, their officers, in the face of these batteries, would advance and reconnoitre the ground, then the men would march up to that point, the officers would again advance, and the same process be repeated. During this time the cannon balls from the unseen enemy came crashing through the corn, the men and officers fell rapidly, yet as if impelled by some all powerful influence, they moved steadily on until the works of Churubusco were in their hands.

General Scott sent round to the other side a division under General Pillow ; they waded through the mud and

water, in some instances waist deep, before they could reach the enemy. Several companies were entirely broken up, Captain Taylor's artillery men were cut up, his horses killed, when suddenly the Mexicans rushed out of the convent to charge ; but at this moment a company of American infantry came up and repulsed the assailants.

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The ground was intersected by causeways, and it was impossible to preserve military order ; also owing to their ignorance of the position of the enemy, as well as their own, the Americans were constantly in danger of firing upon their own friends. The battle raged in every direction. General Worth carried San Antonio, and General Twiggs another fortress. The Mexicans fought bravely, they were more than three to one of their foes, and they made every effort to repel them.

For two hours the battle had raged. The smoke completely enshrouded the position of the Mexicans. The roar of their twenty thousand muskets seemed to drown the noise of the artillery, and to render the din of the conflict peculiarly terrific.

The Americans could but feel their way through the corn, and across causeways and ditches, ignorant at what moment they might come upon concealed batteries. At length a party were enabled to cross the river Churubusco, and presented themselves in the rear of the enemy, at the same moment Worth's division emerged from the corn-fields in their front ; those in the rear rushed across ditches and over the parapets and carried the works, while the Mexicans at the head of the bridge abandoned it ; their guns were immediately seized and turned upon them. Both divisions pressed forward with the bayonet, the Mexicans recoiled in confusion, and finally fled ; the dragoons pursuing them to the very gates of the city.

The victory was won, but it had cost the Americans dear ; a thousand had fallen or been disabled, among these were seventy-six officers. The coolness, the in-

CHAP. domitable courage and perseverance of both men and
 LIV. officers were never better displayed. The ground was
 1847. unknown, and they were thrown upon their own resources ;
 there was no wavering ; each one performed his part, and
 adapted himself to the emergency. In no battle did the
 Mexicans fight better ; they struggled hard, and the num-
 ber of their slain and wounded and missing—nearly seven
 thousand—testifies that they were brave.

Santa Anna fled to the city. The night after the
 battle several persons connected with the British embassy
 in Mexico appeared at the American head-quarters, and
 informed General Scott that the Mexican authorities were
 disposed to conclude a peace, and advised that the capital
 should not be assaulted, lest the members of the govern-
 ment should be dispersed, and leave no acknowledged
 authority to enter upon negotiations.

A flag of truce came the next day and presented the
 request for hostilities to cease preparatory to negotiating
 a treaty. In accordance with this request, and the repre-
 sentations made the previous evening, Mr. Trist went
 to the capital and presented his conditions of peace—the
 same drawn up at Washington. After protracted delays,
 evidently designed to gain time, the Mexican commis-
 sioners announced that they would not accede to these
 conditions, and in turn they proposed others, which they
 well knew would not be acceptable.

Sept. Mr. Trist returned with this intelligence, and also that
 5. contrary to the terms of the armistice, Santa Anna was
 fortifying the city, and in other respects had violated his
 pledges.

Indignant at the continued treachery, General Scott
 now ordered the army to march upon the capital.

On the way were two strong positions : the one Molino
 del Rey, (the King's Mill,) a foundry, where, it was said,
 the bells of the churches were being rapidly converted into
 • cannon ; near by was the strong castle of Chapultepec.

which could not be turned, but must be taken, before the city could be reached.

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It was resolved to capture Molino del Rey ; and at three in the morning General Worth sent forward the different corps of his division to commence the attack at dawn of day. While it was yet dark, the two twenty-four pounders opened and sent their balls through the walls of masonry. There was no reply, and it was thought the Mexicans had abandoned the building. Instead, they had changed their position during the night, and now had their guns in readiness to pour grape and round shot upon the flank of the advancing Americans. From the manifest preparations, it is thought, Santa Anna, who was on the ground, knew of the intended attack. His advantages in number and position were great, and when his guns opened, their effect was terrible. In a few minutes the front of the American advance was cut down ; of fourteen officers, eleven were either killed or wounded, and a like proportion of the men. The company was forced to fall back, and the Mexicans, as usual, with savage ferocity, rushed out and murdered all the wounded they could find.

1847.
Sept.
8.

Worth ordered forward other companies, and these were seconded by another brigade, who vigorously attacked the Mexican flank. Though exposed to a cross fire which did fearful execution, these all fought desperately ; it would seem that the idea of retreating from the face of such overwhelming odds, never occurred to them ; they held on and steadily advanced.

Presently General Leon himself headed a strong sortie from the Molino del Rey, but it was driven back ; Leon was mortally wounded, and several officers of high rank were slain. The attack was continued in a desultory manner, the assailants sought in various ways to gain access to the enemy ; they crept along the sides and fired into the apertures, climbed to the top of the building and tore down the walls with their hands or pried the stones

CHAP. loose with their bayonets. At length they broke through
LIV. the southern gate, and rushing in with loud shouts engaged
1847. in close combat. The Mexicans did not yield, but continued to fire upon them, from the building into the courtyards. The Americans burst open door after door, reached the roof, and with the bayonet met the enemy hand to hand. In a few minutes the north-west gate was in like manner forced. A portion of the Mexicans held out a white flag in token of surrender, while others made their way to Chapultepec.

This has been deemed the hardest contested conflict of the entire war. The enemy were in numbers three to one, and in a strong position. After the commencement of the attack, the Americans had scarcely any aid from their heavy cannon, but were forced to depend upon their rifles and muskets. Still they carried the place, and captured eight hundred prisoners, and lost themselves seven hundred and eighty-seven killed and wounded, of whom fifty-nine were officers—nearly one-fourth of the whole number engaged in the battle. The loss of so many brave men shed a gloom over the entire army.

The Castle of Chapultepec stood on a high and precipitous hill, very steep and rocky, on the south side toward the Americans ; on the west the slope was more gradual, but covered with dense woods and rough with rocks. Here, shielded by these, was a large force of Mexicans.

Sept. At the earliest dawn the full force of the American
13. cannon was concentrated upon the walls of the castle, and at the west side, storming parties were waiting anxiously for a breach to be made, by which they might carry it by assault. They groped their way from tree to tree and rock to rock, driving the Mexicans before them, when suddenly, on the crest of the hill, the whole force came out on the open space in the presence of ram parts frowning with cannon and musketry. They ap-

proached cautiously, returning only a few shots, but still drawing nearer and nearer. Presently an ensign bearing the standard of his regiment, rushed forward to the rampart, a shout arose, and a few followed with ladders, placed them against the wall and with a cheer bounded over. The Mexicans, taken by surprise, stood but a few minutes, then scrambled over the side and down the precipitous rocks out of danger. This was the only instance during the war where the Americans so far forgot themselves as not to cease their fire at the submission of the foe, and even now it continued only for a few minutes. Their provocations had been great. Only a few days before, as on every other occasion, they had seen their wounded companions, found on the field of battle, barbarously murdered by the Mexicans. The exulting shouts, the disregard of discipline, which continued for an hour, only manifested the deep emotions which prevailed.

The castle was a mass of ruins ; so effective had been the shots and shells, that it was battered to pieces. Here had been the national military school, and here the young students had bravely stood their ground. All of their number, who were not slain, were taken prisoners, with the aged General Bravo their commander.

While the conflict was in progress General Quitman was engaged in capturing the defences thrown over the causeways which led through a marsh—a lake in the days of Cortez—to the city. They were taken in succession ; each one gave more or less resistance. At nightfall the Mexicans were driven within the city, and the Americans held two of its gates.

At midnight commissioners came with propositions of peace, and to surrender the city ; they stated that Santa Anna was marching out with his army. General Scott refused to listen again to terms of accommodation ; when his kindness of feeling had prompted him to offer them peace, he had been grossly deceived. The following morn-

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CHAP. ing, with six thousand men, he marched into the city,
LIV. drew up his army upon the great plaza, and hoisted the
stars and stripes over the National Palace.

1847.

Sept.
14.

For several days the troops were occasionally fired upon from windows and the tops of houses ; the work, it was said, of convicts, two thousand of whom had just been liberated ; but stringent measures were taken to insure safety.

Santa Anna, with three or four thousand troops, had gone toward Puebla. He devolved his authority upon Peña y Peña, the President of the Supreme Court of Justice. The other prominent Mexicans went in different directions.

Sept.
22.

Colonel Childs had been left in command at Puebla with a small garrison, only five hundred men, to protect eighteen hundred sick and disabled American soldiers. The Mexicans, encouraged by false reports of success at the capital, made frequent desultory attacks upon the garrison, but by great exertions Colonel Childs held them at bay for nine days, when Santa Anna, with a remnant—some four or five thousand—of his discomfited army, appeared, and in a pompous manner summoned Childs to surrender. The summons was disregarded. The Mexican chief blockaded the town for seven days and then marched to intercept a train, on its way from Vera Cruz. General Lane was in command of this convoy—troops from Taylor's army, composed of Indiana and Ohio volunteers.

Oct.
8.

Santa Anna took position at Huamantla, a town some miles north of the main pass El Pinal, intending to attack the Americans when they should become entangled in the defile. But Lane was not thus to be entrapped. He at once set out, surprised Santa Anna himself, and compelled him, after some loss, to abandon the town. The train unmolested moved on the following day to Puebla, and the garrison, after a month's siege, was relieved.

Within ten days it was ascertained that Santa Anna was concentrating another force at Alixo. Lane, by a forced march, suddenly fell upon them, and dispersed them beyond recovery. Almost immediately after his failure to prevent the capture of the city of Mexico, Santa Anna resigned the presidency of the republic, but still retained his office as commander-in-chief of the Mexican armies. Now he was mortified to receive a note from Senor Rosa, the Minister of War, informing him that his services were no longer required by the government, which had just been inaugurated. He took the hint, and was soon on his way to the Gulf Coast, thence to the West Indies to be ere long again engaged in intrigues to disturb his unfortunate country.

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In a few weeks after the capture of the city of Mexico, the seat of government was removed to Queretaro. Soon after members for a new Congress were elected, and that body commenced its session. At the town of Guadalupe Hidalgo, commissioners and Mr. Trist were negotiating a treaty of peace. It was concluded on the 2d of February, and now it only remained to be ratified by the authorities at Washington to formally close the war, which, from the battle of Palo Alto to the capture of the city of Mexico, had lasted one year and five months.

1848.

May
9,

1846

Sept.

14,
1847.

In this brief period, armies, of their own free will, had flocked to the standard of their country ; had been organized, had marched into a foreign land, dissimilar to their own in climate and in feature, some across deserts and through districts infected with direful disease, others in mid-winter passed over untrodden mountains, covered with snow, and then in turn over arid plains, and met the enemy in conflict many hundreds of miles from their homes, while fleets were fitted out, which swept round Cape Horn, and were in time to perform their part. The rapidity with which cannon were manufactured and mu-

CHAP. LIV. nitions of war prepared and transported to the scene of
——— action, was astonishing.

1847.

During the time of the occupation of the city of Mexico, difficulties arose between some of the officers of the army. From misunderstandings hasty charges were made, and recriminations followed. Two of the officers, Pillow and Worth, made charges against the General-in-Chief, and he ordered them under arrest for insubordination. They appealed to the War Department, and made representations, in consequence of which the venerable commander, who had been a worthy leader from Lundy's Lane to Mexico, was superseded by an order from Washington, and the temporary command given to another. Subsequently the charges were virtually withdrawn, and they resumed their respective ranks. It is not expedient to go into detail ; let the matter sink into oblivion. But never before—and may it never be again—in the history of the country, when its interests were so deeply involved, did the terms of “ party,” democrat or whig, of “ friends ” or “ opponents ” of the “ administration,” have so much influence.

Certainly, in truth it has been said, that those who served their country well in this war fared badly. Taylor, who was victorious from Palo Alto to Buena Vista, was quarrelled with ; Scott, who marched triumphant from Vera Cruz to Mexico, was superseded ; Fremont, who secured California, was court-martialled, and Trist, who made the treaty, which secured the objects of the war, was recalled and dismissed.

The war had been an unceasing source of disappointment to those whose measures brought it on. Santa Anna, who was to have been a harbinger of peace, had to be beaten from point to point, and not until he was finally driven from power did those of his countrymen, who were in favor of an amicable arrangement, dare to act

When the commissioners, appointed by the President to supersede Trist, arrived at Mexico, they found the treaty negotiated and signed by the parties. In substance it was the same that had been prepared by the Cabinet. When brought to Washington it was at once laid before the Senate, and after a short discussion ratified. The President by proclamation, on the 4th of July, 1848, made known to the nation that the war was at an end, and a satisfactory treaty had been concluded.

CHAP.
LIV.

1848.

New Mexico and Upper California were ceded to the United States, and the lower Rio Grande, from its mouth to El Paso, was taken as the boundary of Texas. Mexico was to receive fifteen millions of dollars; the claims of American citizens against her—amounting to three and a quarter millions of dollars—were assumed by the United States. In a few months not an American soldier was on Mexican soil.

On the 4th of July, 1845, the annexation of Texas was consummated; and thus within three years a territory four times as large as France, had been added to the United States—regions hitherto imperfectly known, but having in store the elements of great wealth.

At the very time that the commissioners were negotiating the treaty, a laborer engaged at work upon a mill-race belonging to Captain Sutter, on one of the tributaries of the Sacramento river, noticed in the sand some shining particles. They proved to be gold. By the time the treaty was ratified rumors of the discovery reached the United States. The excitement produced was unprecedented. In a short time thousands were on their way to the land of gold. Every means of conveyance was called into requisition, from the emigrant's pack-horse and wagon, to the sailing-vessel and the steam-ship. Some went in caravans over the plains and the Rocky Mountains; some crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and found their way up the Pacific coast; others took ship and passed

CHAP. round Cape Horn. The sufferings of the great majority
LIV. of these adventurers were intense ; hundreds of them met
 1848. untimely deaths on the way, or by disease, privations, and
 improvidence, when they reached their journey's end.
 The ferment extended throughout the civilized world.
 Multitudes of gold-seekers were soon on their way from
 the different countries of Europe and South America, and
 even distant China sent her thousands. The tide of im-
 migration was directed to SAN FRANCISCO, which, from a
 miserable village of a few huts, soon became a city of fifteen
 1882. thousand inhabitants, now to have about sixteen times
 that number, and to be the great entrepôt of the Pacific.

The influence of this discovery of gold mines, has been
 incalculable in its effects, not merely upon the United
 States, but has extended to other nations. "It touched
 the nerves of industry throughout the world," infused new
 life into commerce, and awakened a spirit of adventure and
 individual exertion never before known.

Feb. On the 21st of February, the venerable John Quincy
21. Adams, when in his seat in the House of Representatives,
 was struck by paralysis. Two days later he expired. His
 last words were, "This is the last of earth :—I am con-
 tent." Born in revolutionary times : "The cradle hymns
 of the child were the songs of liberty." He had associated
 with the fathers of the republic, and was the representa-
 tive of the memories of that heroic age. For more than
 sixty years he had been constantly engaged in public
 affairs. At the age of fourteen, private secretary to
 Francis Dana, American minister to Russia ; at twenty-
 seven appointed minister to Holland by Washington,
 who styled him "the ablest of all our diplomatic corps."
 Afterward successively, United States Senator ; profes-
 sor in Harvard College ; minister to Russia ; one of the
 negotiators of the treaty of Ghent ; Secretary of State
 under Monroe ; President, and then member of the House
 till his death, at the age of fourscore. Old in years but

buoyant in spirit, he never lagged behind his age ; but with careful eye watched the progress of his country, and sympathized with its youthful energies.

CHAP.
LIV.

1848.

The administration of Mr. Polk was drawing to a close. Its great event had been the Mexican war, the train for which was laid under his predecessor. The tariff of 1842, under which the industry of the country had rapidly recovered from its prostration, after an existence of four years was so modified, as to afford less protection to American manufactures.

1846.

David Wilmot, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, introduced a proposition into Congress, since known as the "Wilmot Proviso," by which slavery should be prohibited in all territory obtained by treaty. The "Proviso" did not become a law, but the subject of slavery was once more brought up for discussion.

MAY
1.

The Democratic convention met at Baltimore to nominate a candidate for the office of President. Two sets of delegates appeared from New York, both claiming to be the true representatives of the Democracy of that State.

No compromise could reconcile the parties, and the convention solved the difficulty by excluding both from its deliberations. It then proceeded to nominate Senator Lewis Cass, of Michigan, for President, and General William O. Butler, of Kentucky, for Vice-President.

The delegates representing the Whig party, and those opposed to the measures of the administration, met at Philadelphia, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for President, and Millard Fillmore, of New York, for Vice-President.

JUNE
1.

One portion of the Democracy of New York accepted the nominations of the Baltimore convention ; another portion rejected them. The latter called a convention, at Buffalo of those who were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory. They adopted a platform in

CHAP. favor of "Free Soil," and nominated ex-president Van
LIV. Buren for the Presidency and Charles Francis Adams
1848. (son of John Quincy Adams) for the Vice-Presidency.

Aug. A spirited canvass followed, and the candidates of the Whig party were elected.

During the last year of this administration, Wisconsin was admitted into the Union as a State, and Minnesota organized as a Territory.

A new Department, that of the Interior, was created by Congress, to relieve the Secretary of the Treasury of part of his duties.

On the fifth of March, the fourth occurring on the Sabbath, the new President was inducted into office.

Mr. Polk, broken down in health, retired to his home in Nashville, Tennessee, where in a few months he was numbered with the dead. A man of exemplary character ; he was lamented by the people.

CHAPTER LV.

TAYLOR AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Discussion on Slavery.—Wilmot Proviso.—The Powers of the Constitution; their Application in the Territories.—Thirty-first Congress.—President's Message; its Recommendations.—Debate on the Omnibus Bill.—Death of Calhoun.—Death of President Taylor.—Fillmore Inaugurated.—The Fugitive Slave Law.—The Mormons; their Origin; Troubles; Settlement in Utah.—A Disunion Convention.—Lopez invades Cuba.—The Search for Sir John Franklin.—Dr. E. K. Kane.—Death of Henry Clay; of Daniel Webster.—The Tripartite Treaty.—Presidential Election.

GENERAL Zachary Taylor was a native of Virginia; but when he was very young, his father removed to Kentucky, and on the frontiers of that State he spent his youth as a farmer. At the age of twenty-four he received a commission in the army from President Jefferson, and entered upon a career more congenial to his tastes than cultivating the soil. For forty years he was in the military service of his country; his sphere of duty was on the frontiers; and thus situated he had never even voted at an election. Honest and frank, blest with common sense and firmness of purpose, he was withal unselfish and patriotic, and uncontaminated with political intrigues. His inaugural address on taking the office of President, was brief, and confined to a declaration of general principles. His cabinet, at the head of which was John M. Clayton of Delaware, was at once confirmed by the Senate.

CHAP.
LV.

1849.

1808.

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LV.

1820. The question of slavery had appeared under different phases. For twelve years after the passage of the Missouri Compromise, the subject had not been agitated in Congress, but now attention was drawn to it by the presentation of memorials, praying that body to abolish the slave-trade and slavery in the District of Columbia. Meantime others, who looked upon the system as an evil to be remedied at all hazards, sent through the mail to the South publications, addressed to the slave-owners themselves, and designed to influence them in favor of emancipation; but there were others who sent papers that contained engravings by no means calculated to make the slave contented with his lot. The fear was great lest the latter might become the occasion of insurrections and blood-shed. President Jackson recommended
1832. to Congress to pass a law prohibiting the use of the mail for the circulation of "incendiary publications." But the bill to that effect did not become a law. The excitement was great, both North and South: in the former sometimes developing itself in violent measures against the abolitionists; in the latter, some broke into the post-offices and destroyed the obnoxious papers, and others raised the cry of disunion, while, so embittered, had the feeling become
1835. in Congress, that for a time memorials on the subject would not be received.

Now the slavery agitation was a legacy left by the previous administration—a question which overshadowed all others, and almost exclusively engaged the attention of Congress and the nation. Three years before the Wil-

1846 mot Proviso had initiated the discussion, which was fast acquiring a tone of bitterness hitherto unknown. The contents of the newspapers showed that the question had penetrated into every nook and corner of the land—in social circles and in the retirement of the fireside—all were alive to the importance of the subject at issue; the

emotions of a nation swayed in the storm of clashing opinions.

CHAP.
LV.

1849.

The annexation of Texas and the consequent war with Mexico, came to be looked upon as designed to further the interests of slavery, and to commit the nation to the policy of extending that system. Those opposed to such measures endeavored to counteract them by means of the Proviso, but that had failed to receive the sanction of Congress. With the exception of Texas proper, it was uncertain whether the newly-acquired territories would admit slavery; the indications were that they would reject it. And this feature of the controversy gave rise to another question; how to introduce the system into free territory. Would Congress subvert the law of Mexico, which had long since prohibited human bondage within her limits? That body never at any time had interfered with slavery as existing in the States, neither had it directly legislated it into free territory: the policy had rather been not to interfere with the inhabitants in deciding the question for themselves.

The last Congress, absorbed in the turmoil of the discussion, had dissolved without providing governments for the territories. To remedy this evil, President Taylor instructed the Federal officers in these territories to encourage the people to organize temporary governments for themselves.

President Polk in his last message had recommended that the Missouri Compromise line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, be extended to the Pacific, and thus leave the territory south of that line liable to be made slaveholding. Motions to that effect failed in Congress. That line had been adopted for the Louisiana territory alone, which was slave, and it made one side free, but if it was produced to the Pacific it would pass through free territory, and therefore make one side slave

CHAP
LV.

1849.

The advocates of the system contended that they had a right to go into any of the territories and take with them their property, meaning slaves. That was admitted, but only under the laws of Congress, which so far protected such property, but it was denied that the slaveholder could carry with him the municipal law of the State from which he emigrated, any more than the emigrant from a free State could take with him its peculiar laws.

The same object was sought by attempting to "extend the constitution of the United States to the territories," and this under the form of an amendment attached to the general appropriation bill, providing a temporary government for the ceded territories, and extending to them certain acts of Congress. The proposition elicited a discussion in which Calhoun and Webster each took part. The former argued that the Constitution recognized slavery; that it was the supreme law of the land; therefore it was superior to every law in opposition to slavery, not only overriding any territorial law to that effect, but even superior to any law of Congress designed to abolish it; and that the property of the South, meaning slaves, would thus be protected by the Constitution in the territories into which Calhoun openly avowed his intention to thus carry the institution of slavery. "The Constitution," said he, "pronounces itself to be the supreme law of the land;" the States as well as the Territories.

Mr. Webster replied that the Constitution was made for the States and not for the Territories; that Congress governed the latter independently of the Constitution, and often contrary to it, and was constantly doing things in the Territories that it could not do in the States; and that the Constitution could not operate of itself in the Territories. "When new territory has been acquired," said he, "it has always been subject to the laws of Con-

gress, to such laws as Congress thought proper to pass for its immediate government and preparatory state in which it was to remain until it was ready to come into the Union as one of the family of States." He quoted the Constitution itself, which declares that "it and the laws of Congress passed under it shall be the supreme law of the land." Thus it required a definite law of Congress to establish slavery in the Territories under the Constitution, as shown by the words of that instrument itself.

CHAP.
LV.

1849.

The amendment failed in both houses ; but it became the germ of another doctrine, that the Constitution of the United States, independently of an act of Congress, but in spite of it, not only goes of itself to the territories but carries with it a shield protecting slavery.

During this session of Congress meetings were held at Washington, attended by a majority of the members of Congress from the slave-holding States, to take into consideration the measures best adapted to secure southern rights.

They published an Address to the people of the South. It was drawn up by Calhoun, and by no means was it conciliatory in its tone and sentiments, and for that reason it failed to enlist in its favor all the delegates from the South. In truth it became a party measure. Only forty members, all from the slaveholding States, signed their names to the Address : of these, thirty-eight belonged to the Democratic party.

This manifesto was soon followed by a Southern Convention to dissolve the Union. The Legislatures of two of the States, South Carolina and Mississippi, issued a call for a "Southern Congress," to frame a government for a "United States South."

The agitation was not limited to the South ; the North was as busily engaged in canvassing the exciting question, and both parties were summoning their energies for the conflict in the new Congress about to meet.

CHAP.
LV.

1849.
Nov.
8.

The thirty-first Congress, called a month earlier than the usual time, met in its first session. Parties were nearly equally divided. The House spent three weeks, and balloted sixty times for a speaker, and only succeeded by changing the rule by which a majority of the whole is required to elect, to that of a plurality. Mr. C. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, was elected ; his competitor was Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts.

The first and only annual message of President Taylor was sent in. He saw the difficulties which lay in his path. The bitterness of party had been increased by sectional feelings. The President felt the responsibility of his position ; but he fearlessly yet temperately gave his views, and plainly intimated that he should not shrink from his duty to the Union itself ; deprecated sectional controversies, and referred to Washington in confirmation of this sentiment.

The points at issue were various, and he recommended a plan to settle each. As California, whose population had increased so rapidly, had framed a Constitution, he advised that she should be at once admitted into the Union ; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized as territories, and when they were prepared to come into the Union as States, be permitted to decide the question of slavery for themselves ; and that the dispute between Texas and New Mexico, in relation to their boundaries, should be settled by the judicial authority of the United States.

Early in the session Henry Clay moved in the Senate a series of resolutions designed to settle these disputes by a compromise. A committee of thirteen was appointed, to whom these resolutions and the various plans which had been proposed were referred. In due time Mr. Clay, as chairman, reported. The spirit of the resolutions was combined in one measure, which, from its character and the dissimilar objects it was designed to accomplish, was

styled the Omnibus Bill. It proposed the admission of California ; the organization, without mention of slavery, of the territories of New Mexico and Utah ; the arrangement of the Texas boundary, by paying the latter ten millions of dollars ; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and the enactment of a more stringent fugitive slave law. CHAP
LV.
1849.

Senator Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, insisted that the bill was not equal in its provisions, because the South gained nothing by the measure ; and he urged that the Missouri line of compromise should be extended to the Pacific, "with the specific recognition of the right to hold slaves in the Territory below that line." 1850.

To this Clay replied, that "no earthly power could induce him to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of slavery where it had not existed, either north or south of that line." "I am unwilling," continued he, "that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New Mexico should reproach us for doing just what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us." "If the citizens of those Territories come here with Constitutions establishing slavery, I am for admitting them into the Union ; but then it will be their own work and not ours, and their posterity will have to reproach them and not us."

Calhoun, now near to death, in a speech read by a friend, urged that if the Union would be preserved, it must be by an equal number of slave and free States, to maintain the number of senators equal in the Senate.

"The incurability of the evil," said Senator Benton, of Missouri, "is the greatest objection." "It is a question of races, involving consequences which go to the destruction of one or the other ; this was seen fifty years ago, and the wisdom of Virginia balked at it then. It seems to be above human reason. But there is a wisdom

CHAP. above human ! and to that we must look. In the mean-
 LV. time not extend the evil."

1849. Soon after this occurred the death of John C. Calhoun. He first entered Congress in 1811, and during almost forty years had filled various offices in the service of his country. A man of primitive tastes and simple manners, uniting the kindest of feelings with unflinching integrity, and devotion to duty. The latter portion of his public career was marked by the most strenuous advocacy of States' rights and Southern institutions.

Mar.
 31.

July,
 9.

A few months later President Taylor was also numbered with the dead. He suddenly became ill with a violent fever, which terminated his life in a few days, after he had held office sixteen months. He had shown himself equal to the emergency ; and his death was a public calamity indeed. Though elected by one party, his policy and acts were approved by all, and the whole nation mourned his loss.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

The Vice-President, on the 10th of July, took the oath, and was inaugurated as President. It was done without show or parade ; merely a joint committee of three from each House of Congress, and the members of the cabinet, attended him. The oath was administered by the venerable William Cranch, Chief Justice of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia, who, appointed by John Adams, had held the office for fifty years. Not an unnecessary word was spoken ; the ceremony was one of deep solemnity.

The first official act of Mr. Fillmore was to call upon Congress to take suitable measures for the funeral of the late President, " who had been so recently raised by the unsolicited voice of the people to the highest civil authority

in the government." An impressive funeral service was performed, and eulogies pronounced upon him by many of the leading statesmen of the country. The Cabinet resigned, and the President nominated another, at the head of which was Daniel Webster as Secretary of State.

CHAP
LV.

1850

Four months had nearly elapsed since Henry Clay reported his Compromise Bill. Its provisions had been thoroughly discussed by the members of both Houses. It was then taken up article by article and passed—the last the Fugitive Slave law. The similar law which had been enacted in 1787, as part of the ordinance prohibiting slavery in the Territory north-west of the Ohio, and also a law to the same effect passed during Washington's administration, were thought to be defective, and a new one was framed.

Sept.
18.

1793.

The Supreme Court of the United States held the opinion that justices of the peace in the respective States, were not called upon to enforce the law for the rendition of slaves. Since the agitation of the slavery question in Congress, a dislike to enforcing that law had greatly increased in the free States. The feeling reached the Legislatures and some of them, by law, prohibited the use of their jails for the confinement of fugitive slaves, and the justices of the peace refused to act on the subject. To obviate the latter difficulty the present bill provided for the appointment of United States' commissioners, before whom such cases could be tried.

When the vote on the reception of California was taken, and she admitted to the Union, her senators, Wm. M. Gwin and John C. Fremont, who had been in waiting, immediately took their seats.

The vast region known as Utah, was in the possession of the Indians and the Mormons or Latter Day Saints, a religious sect. It was founded by Joseph Smith, a native of Vermont, but at that time a resident of Central New

1827

CHAP. York ; illiterate and superstitious, cunning and unprin-
 LV. ciple ; when a youth he loved to dupe his companions ;
 1850. at the age of fifteen he pretended that he had seen visions ;
 and at twenty-two that he had received a direct revelation
 from heaven ; that he had been directed to a certain hill,
 where he would find golden plates, covered with Egyptian
 characters, which he alone, as a prophet, was empowered
 to decipher. This was the famous " Book of Mormon." It
 professed to give a new system of religion, and to
 chronicle events which occurred on this continent long an-
 terior to the Christian era.

It is said a man named Spaulding, when laboring
 under ill health wrote the story to alleviate his hours of
 ennui ; after his death the manuscript fell into the hands
 of Smith, who unscrupulously used it to deceive his fel-
 low-men.

His system of polygamy led to gross immoralities ;
 and the vicious, as well as the ignorant, some of whom
 may have been honest, became his disciples. In five
 1833. years he had twelve hundred followers. At this time the
 whole sect removed to Jackson county, Missouri. As
 they professed to be the true saints, by virtue of which
 they were to become the inheritors of the western country,
 they became objects of distrust to the Missourians. The
 militia were called out, but the Mormons avoided a con-
 1840. flict by crossing the river to Illinois.

They prepared to make that State their home. On a
 bluff, overlooking the Mississippi, they founded a city,
 Nauvoo, and erected an imposing temple. Thefts and
 robberies were numerous in the vicinity, and these crimes
 were attributed to the Mormons, some of whom were
 arrested. The saints, it was said, controlled the courts, for
 the prisoners were speedily liberated. An intense excite-
 ment was produced in the country by these proceedings.
 At length the Prophet himself, and a brother, were ar-
 rested and thrown into prison in the town of Carthage

A mob collected a few days after, and in the melee the brothers were slain. The spirit aroused against them was so violent that the Mormons could find safety alone in flight, and the following year they sold their possessions, left their beautiful city, which contained ten thousand inhabitants, and under chosen elders emigrated away across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains, and finally found a resting place in the Great Basin. As they were now upon the soil of Mexico, they hoped their troubles were at an end. They significantly called their new home, Deseret—the land of the Honey Bee. To recruit their numbers they sent missionaries to every quarter of the globe; that these zealous apostles have met with astonishing success in obtaining proselytes, is a sad reflection.

CHAP.
LV.

1844.

Meantime they labored with great zeal in founding a city on the shores of the Great Salt Lake. It is on ground four thousand three hundred feet above the level of the ocean, and planned on a large scale; its streets eight rods wide, and every house surrounded by a garden.

Presently came the war with Mexico, and the ceding of all that region to the United States. The Mormons were the first to organize themselves as a territory under the name of Deseret, but Congress saw proper to change the name to Utah. President Fillmore appointed Brigham Young, one of their elders, the first governor.

1850.

After the passage of the Compromise Bill, the agitation by no means ceased in the south. The design of seceding from the Union was openly avowed. A Disunion Convention met at Nashville, Tennessee. It invited the assembling of a "Southern Congress," but the legislatures of only two States responded to the call—South Carolina and Mississippi. The former elected their quota of representatives to the Congress. The great mass of the people were moved but little by these appeals, and the country

CHAP. breathed more freely in the confident belief that the vexed
LV. question was really at rest.

1850 In no previous discussion of the subject did the great majority of the people of the Union manifest so much interest, not because it had become more important, but a great change had been wrought, since, thirty years before, the country was agitated by the discussions, which led to the enactment of the Missouri Compromise. The number of newspapers had increased at an unprecedented rate, and with them the facilities for publishing general intelligence and reporting the debates in Congress, and now was added the telegraph, which seemed almost to bring the ears of the nation to the Halls of Legislation. Yet in a still greater proportion had the numbers of intelligent readers increased, millions of whom became familiar with the question and the principles involved, and watched with increasing interest every new phase the subject assumed. This may account for the earnestness which characterized this conflict of opinions ; the mass of the people read and judged for themselves. The philanthropist may not dread the response of their hearts ;—they may be slow to act, but they are untrammelled by pledges and uninfluenced by political aspirations.

About the commencement of Taylor's administration, General Lopez, a Spaniard, endeavored to create a revolution in Cuba. He represented that the people of that island were anxious and prepared to throw off the yoke of the mother country ; and by this means he persuaded large numbers of adventurous spirits in the United States to engage in the enterprise. The pretext was to aid the Cubans ; but the real object was to secure the annexation of the island to the United States. President Taylor promptly issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the Union to engage in the expedition. The warning was unheeded, and a company of six hundred men, under the

lead of Lopez, eluded the United States' authorities, and landed at Cardenas. But not meeting with sympathy from the people whom they professed to have come to liberate, they re-embarked, and sailed for Key West, Florida, barely escaping capture on the way by a Spanish steam-vessel of war.

CHAP.
LV.

1850.
May
19.

The following year the attempt was renewed. A party of four hundred and eighty men landed on the island, but were almost immediately overpowered and captured. Lopez and a number of his deluded followers were put to death by the Spanish authorities at Havana.

In 1845, Sir John Franklin sailed from England in quest of the long sought for north-west passage. No tidings had ever been received from him, and the several efforts to send him aid had been unsuccessful. The sympathies of the humane were enlisted in behalf of the daring navigator. Mr. Henry Grinnell, a noble-hearted New York merchant, fitted out, at his own expense, an expedition which, under the command of Lieutenant De Haven, of the United States' navy, sailed for the Arctic regions in May, 1850. With De Haven went Dr. E. K. Kane, in the capacity of surgeon and naturalist. The search was unsuccessful, and the vessels returned.

The United States' Government now sent another 1851. expedition on the same errand of mercy in connection with Mr. Grinnell. The control of this was given to Dr. Kane, whose scientific attainments were of a high order, and whose prudence and indomitable energy excited high hopes of the success of the enterprise. The search was fruitless; the results of the discoveries made have been embodied and given to the world. Sir John has no doubt long since perished, while his unknown friend, Dr. Kane, broken down in health because of his labors and privations, has also closed his life.

Two of our greatest statesmen, with whose names for a third of a century are associated some of the most im-

CHAP.
LV.

1852.
June
28.
Oct.
24.

portant measures of the government, passed away. Henry Clay and Daniel Webster : The one at Washington, the other at his home at Marshfield.

No two men were more endeared to the American people. Henry Clay, by his generous frankness, and nobleness of character won their love. Daniel Webster in his mighty intellect towered above his peers, and commanded their respect ; of him they were proud.

Spain became alarmed at the attempts of lawless adventurers striving to wrest Cuba from her hands. France and England sympathized with her, and proposed to the United States to join with them in a "tripartite treaty," in which each should disclaim any intention of seizing upon that island, but, on the contrary, should guarantee its possession to Spain. A correspondence to this effect had already commenced, and to the proposal Edward Everett, who since the death of Webster was Secretary of State, replied in the negative. "The President," said he, "does not covet the acquisition of Cuba for the United States." Yet he "could not see with indifference that island fall into the possession of any other European Government than Spain." It was shown that this was a question peculiarly American, from the situation of the island itself ; its proximity to our shores ; its commanding the approach to the Gulf of Mexico, and to the entrance to the Mississippi, which with its tributaries forms the largest system of internal water-communication in the world, and also its ability to interfere with the passage to California by the Isthmus route. It was another statement of the celebrated Monroe doctrine, that the United States did not recognize European interference in questions purely American.

For President the Whigs nominated General Scott, and the Democrats, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire.

The latter was elected, in connection with William R. King, of Alabama, as Vice-President. Mr. King had been United States' Senator from that State—with the exception of four years, when he was American minister at the court of France—since 1819; compelled by declining health he went to Cuba, where he took the oath of office. Then he returned home, not to enter upon the duties of the Vice-Presidency, but to die.

CHAP.
LV.
1852.

To avoid the inconvenience of too great a number of members in the House of Representatives, as well as to prevent the waste of time in arranging the ratio of its members to the population, it was enacted that after the third of March, 1853, "The House of Representatives will consist of two hundred and thirty-three members, Provided, that after the apportionment of the Representatives, under the next or any subsequent census, a new State or States shall be admitted into the Union, the Representatives assigned to such new State shall be in addition to the number of Representatives herein limited, which excess over two hundred and thirty-three shall continue until the next succeeding census."

1850.

May
23.

Thereafter, when each "subsequent census" is officially known, the House determines by law the number of its own members "until the next succeeding census," and in proportion to that the number of its Representatives is assigned to each State. The Senate, in accordance with *Article I., Section 3*, of the Constitution, is divided into three classes, and when Senators are elected from a new State, first in order is the distribution of the times they are to serve into *long and short* terms. This is determined by lot, and ever after on the rolls of the Senate that distinction is preserved. A member of the House of Representatives serves two years, a President four, and a Senator six. This overlapping of terms is designed to secure deliberate legislation.

CHAPTER LVI.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

Purchase of the Mesilla Valley.—Treaty with Japan.—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill.—The effects of the Measure.—Emigrants to Kansas.—Struggles and Conflicts.—James Buchanan, President.—The Contest continues in Kansas.—National Progress.

CHAP.
LVI.

1853.

THE new President inaugurated on the 4th of March, was a native of New Hampshire, a graduate of Bowdoin College, and by profession a lawyer. He had served in the legislature of his native State, two terms in the House of Representatives at Washington and nearly a term in the Senate of the United States. William L. Marcy, of New York, was appointed Secretary of State.

Jan.
8.

Owing to the incorrectness of the maps used when the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was made, a dispute arose as to the proper boundaries between New Mexico and the Mexican province of Chihuahua. Both parties claimed the Mesilla Valley, said to be fertile, but more important for affording facilities for a road to California. Santa Anna, who was again President of the republic of Mexico, and intent, as usual, on driving a bargain, took possession of the territory in dispute. The United States obtained the valley, and the free navigation of the Gulf of California and of the river Colorado, to the American boundary by paying the Mexican government ten millions of dollars.

The acquisition of California made the importance of commercial treaties with the nations of eastern Asia more and more apparent. During Fillmore's term, Commodore Perry, brother of the hero of Lake Erie, was sent with a squadron to open communication with the empire of Japan. The inhabitants of those islands from time immemorial had excluded foreigners. The authorities were greatly astonished at the boldness of the Commodore, when he appeared with his steamers—the first that ever floated on those waters—in the Bay of Jeddo. He was ordered to depart; but he declined and insisted on seeing the proper authorities, and making known to them the object of his friendly visit. At length a Japanese officer appeared, who promised to lay the matter before the emperor. The 14th of July was the day named to receive the letter from the President.

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The Commodore, escorted by a company of marines, landed. He was received with the pomp of an oriental pageant, and an answer to the letter promised the following spring. The answer was received and a treaty concluded. The merchants of the United States obtained permission to trade in two specified ports—Simodi and Hakodadi—and also for the residence of American citizens and consuls at the ports, as well as to visit without molestation in the interior, ten or twelve miles.

April

The measure that will render the administration of Pierce famous, was the bill to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas. This was an immense region—extending from the confines of Missouri, Iowa and Minnesota to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and from thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, to the British possessions. This vast territory was a part of the Louisiana Purchase, from which, by the Missouri Compromise, the system of slavery had been excluded.

In part this region had been assigned to the various

CHAP. tribes of Indians, who years before, to make way for set-
 LVI. tlers, had removed from their lands north-west of the
 1858. Ohio. The white settlers who had gone to that region
 wished that the Indian titles should be extinguished, and
 a territorial government established.

In accordance with this wish Senator Stephen A.
 Jan. Douglas, of Illinois, proposed a bill in the United States'
 1854. Senate, to organize this region into two territories, to be
 known as Kansas and Nebraska. This bill contained a
 clause repealing the Missouri Compromise, under the plea
 that it "was inconsistent with the principle of non-in-
 tervention by Congress with slavery in the States and
 Territories, as recognized by the compromise measures of
 1850 ;" "it being the true intent of the act to leave the
 people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their
 domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to
 the Constitution of the United States."

The people were taken by surprise. The question,
 so destructive to national harmony, and which it was
 hoped had been settled forever, had assumed a new form.
 The Missouri Compromise had been deemed a sacred com-
 pact between the south and the north, and as such, for
 the third of a century, had received the sanction of all
 parties. The irritations caused by the fiery discussions
 in Congress four years previous were by no means yet
 healed. A deep-toned feeling was excited, especially in
 the northern States.

It was just fifty years since the purchase of the ter-
 ritory, and up to this time nearly all its benefits had been
 enjoyed by those who held slaves. Meantime emigrants
 from the free States had been compelled, from their un-
 willingness to come in contact with slavery, to seek their
 homes and farms north of Missouri, and forego the ad-
 vantages of the genial climate found in the latitude of
 that State.

These free laborers, as well as those who intended to

seek homes in the west, complained that this region, guaranteed to them by the Missouri Compromise, should be rendered liable to be made slaveholding. Conventions were held and petitions poured into both Houses of Congress, imploring those bodies not to disturb the tranquillity of the country, nor violate the compact so long held sacred. The South did not participate so much in this feeling.

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1854.

In reply to these remonstrances it was said, the principle of "Squatter or Popular Sovereignty," would obviate all difficulty ; by this principle the people of the territory would be free in their political action, and when they came to form their state constitutions, and ask admission into the Union, they could exercise this right and adopt or reject slavery. With this interpretation the bill passed Congress, after nearly four months' discussion, was signed by the President, and became the law of the land.

May

Now came the struggle to secure the new State by sending emigrants, whose votes were to decide the question. Two years before, and not with reference to a contingency of this kind, the Legislature of Massachusetts incorporated a company known as "The Emigrants' Aid Society." This association had been inactive, but now its aid was invoked, and numbers were assisted to emigrate to Kansas. Similar societies were formed in other northern States. The emigrants from the free States went to remain and improve their claims, and found homes for their families. Emigrants came also from the Southern States, but with the exception of those who came from Missouri only a limited number have remained in the territory to improve their claims.

Conflicting opinions soon produced political parties known as Pro-Slavery and Free-State, and the practical application of the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" was

CHAP. appealed to, to test which party had the majority, and
LVI. according to true democracy should rule.

1854. The first territorial election was held to choose a dele-
Nov. gate to Congress, and four months later—a census in the
Mar. meantime having been taken and the territory divided
1855. into districts—another election was held to choose members
to the Territorial Legislature. In both of these elections,
the pro-slavery party claimed that they had chosen their
“candidates, but the free-state men repudiated the elec-
tion as fraudulent ; giving as a reason that the polls were
controlled by armed men from Missouri.

The Territorial Legislature assembled at Pawnee and
July immediately adjourned to the Shawnee Mission, near the
2. Missouri State line. They passed a series of laws, to
which Governor Reeder refused his signature, on the
ground that the Legislature, by the organic act, could not
change the place of meeting appointed by himself. These
laws were however passed by a two-thirds vote.

The Free State men held conventions, denied the le-
gality of the legislature, and refused to obey the laws en-
acted by it, and made arrangements to choose delegates
to a Convention to form a Constitution. In due time this
Oct. Convention assembled at Topeka, framed a Constitution
rejecting slavery, and ordered it to be submitted to the
vote of the people, who ratified it. One month later the
people chose State officers and members for a State Legis-
lature. Soon after Governor Reeder was removed from
Jan. his office by the President.
15.

During these ten months confusion reigned in the
Territory. Outrages of almost every kind were com-
mitted, robberies, murders, illegal arrests and property
destroyed, most of which belonged to the Free State
settlers.

Wilson Shannon, of Ohio, who had recently been ap-
pointed Governor, now appeared and assumed office. He

declared himself in favor of the laws enacted at the Shawnee Mission. CHAF. LVI.

The government, under the Free-State Constitution, was organized, and the contest took the form of civil war. 1855. Mar. 4

At the opening of the session of Congress, the delegate from Kansas, chosen as related above, appeared and demanded his seat. After a spicy discussion the House refused the demand, but appointed a committee to proceed to the Territory and summon witnesses in relation to the recent elections. In a month's time the committee had arrived in Kansas, and commenced the investigation. Their report sustained the charge that those elections had been carried by fraud. Dec. 1855. Mar. 19.

The summer of 1856 was signalized by the commission of many outrages, committed in different parts of the Territory. The Free-State men armed themselves, and determined to defend their rights. Several conflicts ensued and many lives were lost. Presently Shannon received notice of his removal from office, and John W. Geary, of Pennsylvania, soon appeared as his successor. The new governor honestly labored to restore harmony. He ordered "all bodies of men combined, armed, and equipped with munitions of war, without authority of the government, instantly to disband, and quit the territory." Upon this the companies of Free-State men nearly all disbanded, but it was only partially obeyed by the other party, who had concentrated a force of more than two thousand men. The Governor, with the dragoons, threw himself between them and the town of Lawrence and prevented another conflict. Sept 15.

The presidential canvass was now in progress. The main question at issue—the extension of slavery into the Territories or its limitation to the States wherein it already existed.

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Within a few years political issues had somewhat changed. A party known as American, had arisen ; their main principle opposition to foreign influence, and their motto, "Americans should rule America." The following year they were successful in most of the state elections. Meantime arose another party, composed principally of Whigs and Democrats, who were opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory. They were known as Republicans. On the other hand the Democrats announced themselves willing to let slavery go into the territories if the inhabitants thereof desired it. The latter party nominated James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania ; the Republicans, John C. Fremont, of California, and the Americans, ex-president Fillmore.

The canvass was one of more than usual spirit. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill had even added new interest to the main question at issue. It had taken deep hold of the minds of the people ; and they never before gave such evidence of their independence, and repudiation of mere party ties.

Nov.
1856.

Mr. Buchanan was elected President, and John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, Vice-President.

Feb.
17.
1857.

The House of Representatives at Washington passed a bill, declaring the acts of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas null and void, both on the ground that its enactments "were cruel and oppressive," and that "the said legislature was not elected by the legal voters of Kansas, but was forced upon them by non-residents in violation of the organic act of the territory." This bill failed to pass the Senate.

On the 4th of March, Mr. Buchanan was inaugurated President. He was educated for the legal profession. At the age of twenty-three he served as a member of the Legislature of his native State. He was afterward a

member of the House of Representatives ten years ; then Minister to Russia—sent by General Jackson—then a member of the Senate of the United States ; then Secretary of State, under President Polk, and then Minister to Great Britain. Senator Lewis Cass was appointed Secretary of State, by the new President.

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Under the auspices of the Territorial Legislature of Kansas an election was ordered for delegates to a convention for the purpose of framing a constitution, but under conditions to secure a pro-slavery majority of delegates. The Free State men, for the reasons already given, as well as others, refused to take part in the election. It was held, however, and a pro-slavery delegation chosen. Meanwhile the other party published an address to the people of the United States, in which they set forth the wrongs they had endured, and to which they were still subject.

June.

Soon after Governor Geary resigned, and the President appointed Robt. J. Walker, of Mississippi. The new Governor endeavored to remedy these evils, and promised the people of the territory a free expression of their wishes at the polls.

Owing to the influence of Governor Walker the Free State men consented to vote at the coming election for a delegate to Congress, and members for a Territorial Legislature. They, by a vote more than two to one, chose their candidates.

Oct.

Shortly after this election, the delegates chosen as we have seen, met in convention at Lecompton, and speedily framed a constitution. It contained a provision adopting slavery, and this provision alone, the convention submitted to the people of Kansas to ratify or reject. Connected with this was a clause which made it necessary for those who were challenged at the polls "to take an oath to support the constitution if adopted," before they were

CHAP. permitted to deposit their vote. This was followed by a
LVI. proviso that the Constitution could not be amended be-
1857. fore the year 1864, and then only by the concurrence of
two-thirds of the members of both Houses of the Legisla-
ture and "a majority of all the citizens of the State."

The Free State men refused to vote on the ratification of this constitution, as they denied the authority that framed it; but it received some votes, and was declared adopted, and sent as such to Congress. There the discussion on the subject was as bitter as ever. It was denied that the people of Kansas were fairly treated in not having the opportunity to vote upon the adoption of the entire constitution as implied by the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," said to be the essence of the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

April Finally, a bill was passed to submit the constitution
30. to the people of Kansas, but on two conditions: one, that if they failed to ratify it, they would not be permitted to enter the Union until they had a population of ninety-three thousand; the other, if they did ratify it, they should receive certain of the public lands for State purposes. In the face of these strange conditions the people of Kansas, on the 2d of August, rejected the constitution by an overwhelming majority.

1858. After this decided and noble stand by the Free State men in Kansas there was a lull in the excitement. Meanwhile the people were preparing for the territory to assume her place among the States of the Union when the whole nation was startled by an effort to free the slaves by force of arms. The plan was organized and attempted to be carried out by John Brown—better known as "Old John Brown of Osawatomie," at which place he lived, and who, in the Kansas troubles, had beaten off an armed force of the pro-slavery party five times as great as his own, the former having an unusual number of men killed and wounded.

1859,
Oct.

This singular, conscientious, determined man, who under no circumstances ever swerved from what he thought was right, was a native of Connecticut, and descended from Peter Brown, a humble Pilgrim on the Mayflower. Religiously trained, he became a church-member at the age of sixteen; thoughtful for his years, at twelve he found himself an instinctive hater of slavery from seeing his friend, a colored boy about his own age, grossly abused without redress. This hatred of the system was never modified, but grew intenser with his years. At the time of which we speak he was a resident of New York State. When he learned of the efforts to force the system of bondage on the territory of Kansas he hastened thither, where he already had four sons, and three others who soon after followed their father. There in his peculiar way he became a leader among the Free State men in their conflicts with their enemies from across the boundary line of the territory and Missouri. In one of these battles beside him lay a son just killed, while the father in one hand held the pulse of another mortally wounded, and in the other grasped a rifle. Some time before another son had been murdered. With only twenty-one men he seized the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry in northern Virginia. He may have supposed the slaves would avail themselves of an opportunity to fight for their freedom, but none joined him. They always looked for some outside¹ influence to secure their emancipation. John Brown is represented as being kind and sympathetic, and his heart was moved as he contemplated the system of bondage under which the slaves moaned. He thought himself in the line of duty, and while we may respect his motives we cannot his prudence. The explanation may be that he brooded so long over the wrongs suffered by the slaves that he became

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Oct.
16.

¹ Hist., p. 902.

CHAP. partially crazed on the subject, and overlooked the insu-
 LVI. perable difficulties in carrying out *his* plan for their
 1859. emancipation. In the conflict which ensued with the
 State authorities, who were aided by United States ma-
 rines, he was wounded and captured, after a severe strug-
 gle, in which thirteen of his party were killed—two of
 them his sons—six were made prisoners, and two escaped.
 During his trial he lay on his couch in the court-room.
 He met death in a calm and heroic manner.

This was the only instance in which an Abolitionist,
 as such, attempted to secure the freedom of the slaves by
 means of violence.

Three days after the execution of Brown, Congress
 assembled, and during its session was laid before it a
 constitution voted upon and approved by the people of
 1860, Kansas. A bill admitting the State passed the House,
 June 7. but failed in the Senate.

A treaty having been made with Japan that govern-
 1853. ment sent, in the summer of 1860, a number of officials
 to bring it when ratified to the United States. This im-
 posing embassy consisted in all of seventy-one persons of
 various ranks. They were received and treated as the
 guests of the Nation, and in consequence of this treaty
 important commercial relations have since existed between
 the United States and that empire.

Minnesota was admitted into the Union, and allowed
 to have two representatives until the next apportionment
 of members among the several States.

A change was made in the laws in relation to the
 issue of patents, by which "all patents hereafter granted
 shall remain in force seventeen years from date of issue,
 and all extensions of such patents are hereby prohibited."

1860. The Eighth Census of the United States sums up as
 follows: Entire population, 31,443,790; of whom 3,953,-
 529 are slaves.

The question of the extension of slavery into the Territories, was by no means decided in the presidential contest of 1856. During the subsequent four years the discussion of the subject still continued in Congress and among the people. In proportion as they read and judged for themselves, did party spirit lose its despotic influences, and the change in public sentiment, especially in the non-slaveholding States, was unprecedented. Many thousands of intelligent voters, who once acquiesced in the policy of the extension of the system, would no longer lend their sanction to measures the tendency of which they now better understood.

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1860.

In view of subsequent events, a more than usual interest will ever belong to the exposition of principles as set forth in what are termed "platforms" of the parties in nominating their respective candidates for the office of President in 1860.

The Democratic party, at a convention held in Charleston, South Carolina, became divided into two hostile sections—the Breckinridge and Douglas—thus designated from their prominent leaders. One section—the Breckinridge—reaffirmed, with explanatory resolutions, the principles adopted by the entire party four years before at its convention held in Cincinnati. They proclaimed the "non-interference of Congress with slavery in the Territories or in the District of Columbia," and "The admission of new States with or without domestic slavery, as they may elect." The other section—Douglas—also adopted the Cincinnati platform, and likewise affirmed "That as differences of opinion exist in the Democratic party as to the nature and extent of the powers of a Territorial Legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress under the Constitution of the United States over the institution of slavery within the Territories," "That the party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme

1856.

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LVI. Court of the United States on the questions of Constitutional law." These resolutions are significant. That
1860. court had recently given an opinion known as the Dred Scott Decision, which was now assumed to sanction the
1849. doctrine, first announced by John C. Calhoun, that the Constitution recognized slavery, and sanctioned and protected it in the Territories.¹ On the contrary, the Republican party denied that this special decision of the court had a legitimate bearing on the subject, it being a side issue, and therefore null and void; and now, since other means had failed in Kansas, used only to introduce covertly the system of human bondage into the Territories. The latter party, at their convention held in Chicago, announced that "the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our Republican Institutions." "That all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights;" and "That the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the union of the States, must and shall be preserved;" also the rights of the States should be maintained inviolate, "especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively." "That the normal condition of all the Territory of the United States is that of FREEDOM," and they denied "the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

Still another party, heretofore mainly known as American, now adopted the designation of "Constitutional Union," and proclaimed as their platform, "The Constitution of the country, the union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws."

¹ See Hist., pp. 832, 833.

CHAPTER LVII.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Traits of Character, North and South.—Comparative Intelligence in the Free and Slave States.—Benevolent Operations.—Foreign Population.—Material Progress.—Compromises.—Republican Party.—Democratic Convention.—Presidential Election.—Intent of Personal Liberty bills.—Union Men.—The Corner-Stone.—Legislatures and Conventions South.—Non-coercion.—Feeling in the Border States.—Finances.—Buchanan's Message.—Fort Sumter Occupied by Anderson.—The Preparations.—Yulee's Letter.—No Vote of the People Allowed.—Mr. Lincoln's Journey.—Convention at Montgomery.—Fallacies —England and Cotton.

BEFORE entering upon the narrative of the great Rebellion, and to fully understand its cause, we must notice certain influences that have had a share in moulding the characteristics of the American people both North and South. Though the people of both sections take pride in the same ancestry and cling to the same traditions, cherish the same love of country and have the same belief in Christianity, yet certain influences during a period of two centuries produced slightly marked characteristics. The Southern colonists, especially of Virginia and the Carolinas, had their notions of rank and aristocracy, and prejudices against the descendants of the Anglo-Saxons who settled in the Northern portion of the land. The Northern colonists had their prejudices, which grew out of religious differences in the mother country. The seven years' struggle of the Revolution brought the people nearer together by a bond of sympathy. The Northern colonists had a better appreciation

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of education, and they labored to extend its influence to all, beginning at the most humble, thus elevating the people by making them intelligent and moral; and for this purpose they established common schools.¹ As labor with them was respected, so voluntary ignorance was despised, while that which was involuntary was pitied, and an effort made to remove the evil. Massachusetts and the other colonies of New England were in this respect in contrast with Virginia and the Carolinas: the latter made scarcely an effort to instruct the children of the people at large, providing no general system of common-school education.² In these colonies—afterward in the States—the people of limited means were non-slaveholders, and when they aspired to a higher rank in the social scale they found themselves confronted with this fact. Thus trammelled they made little advancement, and in the course of time this contemptuous treatment on the part of the aristocracy frittered away much of the self-respect of that class of the community. This was specially the case during the first sixty years of the present century. The laws prohibiting the slaves learning to read and write were most stringent, and persons who should teach them were liable to punishment by fine and imprisonment, while “a code of slave laws, the most wicked that the world has ever seen, guaranteed the subjection of the victims.”³

Just about one hundred years before the Declaration of Independence, when free schools had been established for a generation in the New England colonies, a Governor of Virginia—Berkeley—in an apparently devout frame of mind, when speaking of the colony, wrote: “I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we will not have them these hundred years—God keep us from both.”⁴ His “hope” was virtually realized; as

¹ Hist., pp. 123, 124

Mackenzie's Nineteenth Century, p. 75.

² Hist., p. 235.

⁴ Hist., pp. 138-142.

it was more than half a century after that before a printing press was at work in Virginia, and common schools waited nearly two centuries for their admission.

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Time has shown the effects of these two systems, so radically different, because the habits, the customs, and even the prejudices of the colonists passed over into the States, and though softened and modified in the transition, lasted long after the Revolution. For sake of convenience we compare New England and Virginia—they two being the most influential before that time and immediately afterward. In making a comparison we pass over about six generations to see more perfectly the results of the two systems of education. The one originating in Massachusetts was radical, commencing at the bottom and educating upward; the other in Virginia commenced at the highest rank in society and educated downward—but *never reached the bottom*.

Let us look at the census of the United States for 1860. It shows that the six New England States had a population of 3,135,383, lacking only 180,796 of being three times as large as that of the white inhabitants of Virginia—1,105,453. In New England we find of this population 81,576 persons, native-born, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and also of foreigners 75,554 of the same age, who were in a similar condition; thus about *fifteen-sixteenths* of this illiteracy belonged to foreigners, a large immigration of whom had been pouring into these States for *forty* years. For the most part, these people paid little or no attention to the education of their children. No doubt a very large proportion of these illiterates, though *native-born*, were the immediate descendants of these immigrants. We now turn to Virginia, and there we find 74,055 white native-born persons, over twenty years of age, who could neither read nor write, and of foreigners 3,152—that is, about *one-twenty-fourth* part.

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In New England we find that of persons over twenty years of age only *one* of the native-born in *thirty-eight* and *four-tenths* was unable to read and write, while in Virginia of the same class there was *one* in *fifteen*. Of the illiterates in the former about *fifteen-sixteenths* were foreigners; in the latter they were about *one* in *twenty-four*. Of the entire population of the free States of the Old Thirteen we find *one* in *thirty-eight* unable to read and write; of whites in the corresponding slave States, *one* in *fifteen*. Of the illiterates of the former States *eleven-fourteenths* were foreigners, and in the corresponding latter States they were *one* in *twenty-two*. In the free States admitted after the Revolution we find *one* illiterate in *thirty-three* of the population; of the whites in the corresponding slave States, *one* in *sixteen*; in the former *one-third* of this class were foreigners, in the latter *one-fourteenth*.

Under such influences it was not strange that so many of the *white* inhabitants of the slave States were not readers, much less thinkers. Had the mass been a reading people, and in consequence reasoners, with books and newspapers in every household, they never could have been induced, much less forced, into an attempt to destroy the Union in order to perpetuate slavery, and surely not in support of a *theoretical* interpretation of the constitution in respect to State Rights. The great majority of those migrating from the old to the new States or Territories, in order to secure a climate to which they were accustomed, passed almost entirely along the same parallels of latitude on which they had lived, and as they carried with them their institutions and habits, the contrast in respect to education and its results, as revealed by the census of 1860, was equally great between the new free and slave States as that between the Old Thirteen. Had common schools been as well supported and attended, even by the *whites*, in the slave as in the free States for

the last century, it is doubtful whether the system of slavery could have reached its vast proportions, and more likely it might so far have passed away as not to be a disturbing element in the nation, much less that for its protection and extension a war should be inaugurated.

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The general intelligence of the Northern portion of the country affected its material progress; the people of moderate means were self-respecting and industrious, and their material progress was continuous from generation to generation. In the Southern portion the people of moderate means unfortunately labored under great disadvantages. They were for the most part wanting in that general intelligence needed to secure success, and were stigmatized as the "white trash." With them industry was an irksome necessity, since they looked upon manual labor as the special province of the slave, and therefore degrading. The dignity of the intelligent farmer or mechanic, who read books, educated his children and obtained knowledge of passing events by reading the newspapers, was almost unknown to them. This was their great misfortune; the result of a disregard of their interests and their children's practiced for generations by their rulers.

For many years previous to the outbreak of the rebellion Northern newspapers not pleasing to certain leaders were virtually prohibited in the South, and by this means it was easy to deceive the non-slaveowners in respect to the true sentiments of the Northern people. In its influence upon society the system of slavery recognized but two classes: those who owned slaves and those who did not. The former claimed to be the aristocracy, and in their hands were the offices of state. Even wealth invested in lands and slaves gave the possessor a higher social position than the same amount acquired by the industry of the merchant or any other occupation.

The mass of the Southern people were grossly deceived by those who represented the people of the North as hostile to them; on the contrary, the sympathies of the Christian

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public of the free States had been unusually drawn out toward their fellow-citizens of the South. They appreciated the difficulties under which they labored in respect to religious privileges; how they had never been trained, but to a very limited extent, either to support schools or the preaching of the Gospel. Benevolent societies (such as the American Tract, Home Missionary, Sunday School Union and others) labored for years to diffuse religious truths among the mass of the Southern people, especially the whites of moderate means, up to the time when their efforts were materially interfered with by political leaders who wished the relations of friendship and intercourse with the North to cease, as an aid to the accomplishment of their secret plan to break up the Union. Without going into details, these leaders assumed that the intercourse between the two sections by means of these operations did or would interfere with slavery, and their benevolent work was gradually restrained to such an extent that when the rebellion began it had nearly ceased, although, owing to intimate commercial relations, the merchants of Northern cities were more than usually liberal in aiding the benevolent and religious institutions of the South. Many other efforts were made to alienate the Southern people from the Northern; parents were urged not to send their daughters to schools or their sons to colleges in the free States; the separation of religious denominations into Southern or Northern was looked upon with pleasure by these leaders; as well as the alienation of churches of the same denomination. Only one denomination—the Methodist—divided on account of slavery alone: in accordance with the Discipline of that church a bishop has jurisdiction in all the States equally, and in this instance a slave-holding bishop became the occasion of the division of the denomination into the Churches North and South. Likewise, owing to the absence of a national system of finances, the moneyed interests of the country had not so great inducement to unite in preserving the Union as they would have had under a banking

1844.

system by means of which the rate of exchange in commercial transactions between different portions of the Union would have been merely nominal. At the commencement of the rebellion, and for years previous, the high rate of exchange through the medium of State banks was a heavy tax on the mercantile interests of the whole country.

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Previous to 1826 the system of slavery was acknowledged to be contrary to the spirit of Christianity; and among thoughtful business men or planters it was recognized as a wasteful system of labor. When a Northern member proclaimed on the floor of the House of Representatives that slavery, "while it subsists where it subsists, its duties are presupposed and sanctioned by religion," the sentiment was repudiated by the leading Southern statesmen. John Randolph, in one of his pungent remarks, exclaimed: "Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises to defend slavery upon principle." In the discussions held hitherto the subject had been treated almost entirely in respect to its political and economical bearings, its moral character being for the most part assumed. Its unwritten, inner history, as a moral evil in domestic relations, was infinitely worse than that of its economical; as in this form it permeated society and poisoned it at the fountain-head—the family.

Mar. 9,
1826.

After the failure of Nullification the form of the discussion changed from the economical more to the moral aspects of slavery, which now found advocates who contended that the system was not inconsistent with the teachings of the Bible. In opposition to this the Abolitionists took a decided stand. The pioneer in this movement was Benjamin Lundy, who was soon joined by William Lloyd Garrison; the former dying, the latter continued with untiring zeal the conflict till the end was attained. Their efforts, feeble at first, were made by

1828
to
1863.

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to
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means of newspapers and periodicals of quite limited circulation; to these were added lectures or speeches, and the formation of anti-slavery societies throughout the free States: and this continued for a generation.¹

The Abolitionists made appeals to the slaveholders themselves to take the initiative in emancipating their slaves, and in recognizing on the score of humanity the inalienable rights of the negro as a man, and the sinfulness of holding him in bondage. Their leading members were specially careful to violate no law, but labor for the accomplishment of their object only by the presentation of the truth as they believed it; they used only moral means to secure their end, with but one exception—that of John Brown. They had themselves so clear conceptions of their own duty in the premises that they became indignant at the slowness of the conservatives in the church, who were unwilling to aid emancipation in the way marked out by these enthusiastic and self-appointed leaders. Nor is it remarkable that the prejudices of the former were roused by the abuse they received, and by the infidelity avowed by many of the Abolitionists. The latter were intensely earnest; they believed every word they said. Their startling invectives and fiery eloquence rang throughout the land like the tolling of a midnight tocsin. Their arguments compelled acquiescence in the unconscious hearer; the well-put truths they uttered sank deep into the minds of the people, like seed in a fertile soil, to be vivified and brought into life under other conditions.²

The slaveholders demanded acquiescence on the part of Northern merchants in the laws of Congress designed to return fugitive slaves, and to protect the system and further its interests—no others would they patronize. Competition in business in the Southern trade at the

¹ Hist. pp. 830, 835.² Hist. pp. 885, 886.

time was not so much in cheapening goods as in lengthening credits. If a publisher issued a book or a periodical in which were criticisms adverse to the system, even by implication, the newspapers of the South warned their readers against buying any books *whatever* of the offender. These demands, with others of a political character, prepared the reading people of the free States to take their stand when the crisis came. It was not till the deliberate firing on Sumter revealed its true spirit that the mass of intelligent people in the North recognized fully its deadly hostility to right and justice. This truth, like an intuition, flashed in their minds and conscience, and at once increased the number of its enemies a hundred-fold. Though the great majority of the people believed the system to be a moral, political and economical evil, they were perplexed as to the remedies to be applied in its removal. It was the farthest from their intentions that it should be removed by the horrors of war. They thought of no other means than moral, and certainly not by infringing the right of the slaveowner as guaranteed by the Constitution and the laws made under it. They hoped that the humane spirit of Christianity would finally abolish the system; but in truth the enactments of laws on the subject in the slave States were becoming harsher and harsher every year. It remained for the slaveowners to place themselves in a position which rid the country of the evil.

Another ground of dissatisfaction was the progress of the free States in material wealth and population. From about 1825 there had been a large emigration from the Old World, chiefly from Ireland, and mostly unskilled laborers; nearly all these settled in the free States, where they found employment principally in digging canals and building railroads. Scarcely any of these made their home in the States where slavery existed, because of the stigma resting

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upon manual labor, and also of the lack of enterprise in that section to furnish them employment. Meanwhile the intelligence and industry of the free States were carrying them far in advance in the enterprises of mining, manufacturing and commerce. They had taken possession of the region north of the Ohio and east of the Great River, and of the northwest. These plains were covered with farms, and immense crops were harvested by means of machinery requiring not one eighth as many laborers as under the old system—the sickle and the scythe. An outlet had been obtained for their grains to Europe, almost a rival of cotton as an article of commerce. Thus the progress of the free States, as revealed every ten years by the census, was unparalleled; and in consequence of the increase of inhabitants they had in the same ratio increased their number of members in the House of Representatives. Though in 1860 the slaves had *twenty* representatives in the House, and these elected by their owners, yet the majority of the members from the free States was overwhelming, and could never be overcome, but was increasing from census to census, while the equality of members in the Senate was gone forever. The leaders foreseeing this result—the termination of their power to rule the National Government—determined to change their tactics in order to secure their ends.

In accordance with the sentiment held by the people of the free States of non-interference with slavery in the States where it existed, Congress in no instance ever passed a law that was intended to thus interfere; while the Territories, the common property of the whole Union, were governed under the Constitution by Congress alone, by means of laws of its own enactment, and by officers legally appointed by the President. The disposal of these Territories was thus given to Congress as the common property of the nation, under the control of the representatives of the whole people; and, as in other cases, in accordance with the cardinal principle of the National

Government, that the majority should rule. Hitherto, when differences of opinion or policy occurred, the difficulties were arranged by compromises. Such was the case in the famous Missouri Compromise.¹ And in the days of South Carolina nullification by a compromise in respect to the tariff.² In the annexation of Texas, a Territory more than five times as great as that of New York or Pennsylvania, the same spirit prevailed; and that Territory was handed over to the slaveholders for their exclusive benefit, though it had cost thousands of precious lives in the war which ensued with Mexico, and an immense amount of national treasure. This concession was made by the free States, when every intelligent person knew that the profit would inure to the slave States alone, and to the extension of their system of enforced labor. The acquisition of California was not then in contemplation, and this concession was an exhibition of good will by the North toward the South. The population of Texas, though its territory was so extensive, would only entitle her to come into the Union as a *single* State, and not *five*, into which it could be divided in accordance with the articles of annexation.³ But California, owing to peculiar circumstances, soon acquired the requisite population to make a State, and was admitted into the Union; her people by their vote prohibiting slavery, preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave States in the United States Senate. With this result the advocates of slavery were not satisfied, and they resolved to make another attempt to secure the coveted majority. The plan now adopted was to repeal the Missouri Compromise,⁴ which had remained intact for *thirty-four* years, and secure for their purpose the region west of that State. This repeal raised the question, especially in the free States. Will the advocates of slavery never be satisfied? Are the politicians, for personal ambition, to keep the

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¹ Hist. pp. 692-695.

² Hist. pp. 723-726.

³ Hist. pp. 748-749.

⁴ Hist. pp. 846-847 and 851.

CHAP. nation continually embroiled in this question? It was
LVII. only about ten years since Texas had been yielded to the
1844. slave owners—and yet the cry was for more territory!

The people of the free States, as they could not restore the “Missouri Compromise,” were forced to accept the “squatter sovereignty” theory, and they put it in practice by sending settlers to Kansas Territory who intended to make it their home and that of their children; and, complying with the law in word and in spirit, when the time came they voted to come into the Union a *free* State.¹ These various measures to extend the system of servitude into the Territories excited an unusual resistance in the free States, and a party was formed—the Republican—to prevent by legal means that result. The pledges of the new party were not to interfere with the institution in the States, but only treat it, in respect to the Territories, as Congress had been accustomed to treat other questions, subject to the will of the majority, in accordance with the received notions of the true rule of the people. And in good faith the free States accepted the principle that the inhabitants of a Territory about to become a State might determine for themselves whether it should come in free or slave. It was fondly hoped this would end the controversy. The slaveholders were still unsatisfied, and they prepared to carry out their plans of seceding from the Union. The census of 1860 was about to show a still greater increase of population in the free States, and in consequence a still greater majority in the House; while the ratio of their material prosperity was greater than ever. The same year Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was elected President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, Vice President. This was proclaimed a sectional election, for the express purpose of destroying slavery and ruining the South. It is proper to notice the means used to obtain this result.

¹ Hist. pp. 851, 878.

Plans were laid to secede long before the time the political parties were accustomed to make their nominations, and it was openly proclaimed that if an "Abolitionist"—thus designating a Republican—should be elected, the slave States would secede. When the Democratic Convention assembled at Charleston, South Carolina, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the presidency, it was soon discovered that ulterior views were entertained by certain members from the extreme Southern States. These demanded of their fellow members from the free States expression on the subject of slavery contrary to their convictions, and they also endeavored to repudiate Mr. Douglas, the most popular candidate of the party in the free States. The disunionists, unable to enforce their own plans, seceded from the Convention, and thus prevented a nomination. The united Democratic party could, with ease, have elected their candidate, but should he not be a pronounced secessionist the Southern wing determined to divide the party, and thus secure the election of a Republican, and seize upon that as a pretext for breaking up the Union.

The Convention thus disorganized did not make a nomination, but adjourned to meet at Baltimore June 18th, and the seceders to meet at Richmond, June 11th: Mr. Douglas was nominated by the conservatives, and John C. Breckenridge by the seceders, or disunionists.

The candidates for the presidency were now Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, nominated by the Republicans; Stephen A. Douglas, of the same State, John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, and John Bell, of Tennessee, on a platform of the "Union and the Constitution." On the sixth of November the election was held and Mr. Lincoln was chosen, he having 180 electoral votes; Mr. Breckenridge 72, Mr. Bell 39, and Mr. Douglas 12. Of the popular vote Mr. Lincoln, 1,857,610; Mr. Douglas, 1,365,976; Mr. Breckenridge, 847,953, and Mr. Bell 590,631. Owing to the system of electing by States, Mr. Lincoln had a majority of

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CHAP. the electoral vote, while he had only a plurality of the popular vote, and Mr. Douglas had only 12 electoral votes to Mr. Breckenridge's 72, while the former's majority over the latter in the popular vote was more than half a million. It is supposed that not more than two-thirds of the popular vote for Breckenridge really desired secession, and then the vote in favor of Union was nearly seven to one; and even if they all desired it, the vote was then about four and a half to one.

The election of Mr. Lincoln was hailed with joy by the secessionists, especially in Charleston, South Carolina, which city had been foremost in these hostile demonstrations against the National Government. A State Convention, as soon as the result of the presidential election was known, assembled in Charleston, and declared that "the union before existing between South Carolina and other States under the name of the United States of America was dissolved." The sympathizers of the movement in the "Cotton States" sent telegraphic messages of congratulation to South Carolina on her prompt action in seceding, and also promised aid; this was done to manufacture public sentiment. The stratagem did not fully succeed, the mass of the Southern people were by no means in favor of the disruption of the Union; the moderate men urged that nothing should be done harshly or hurriedly, their sentiment was: "wait till Mr. Lincoln is inaugurated, and commits the overt act." Virginia urged that time should be given for an effort in Congress to obtain certain measures; such as the repeal of the Personal Liberty bills in some of the free States; and a pledge that the fugitive slave law would be henceforth more promptly enforced; and the concession that the Constitution authorized slavery in the territories, and the protection of slaves as property.

The secessionists did not charge that the presidential election was unfair or illegal, but they assumed that the administration about to come into power would do something especially against slavery. The "Cotton States"

complained bitterly that the Fugitive Slave Law was not promptly enforced in the free States, but was obstructed by the Personal liberty bills ; yet, the truth was, very few slaves from the Cotton States ever reached the free States. The runaways were from the border States, who were not so strenuous on the subject as to wish, on that account, to break up the Union, but proposed to remedy the evil complained of by influencing Congress. The Personal Liberty bills in the free States were a dictate of humanity and were designed to accomplish two objects : one, to prevent the colored freemen of the free States being kidnapped, and the other to secure to those who were charged with fleeing from slavery a fair and impartial trial as guaranteed to every person by the Constitution of the United States. If it was established that the person thus seized had escaped from service, these laws did not forbid the rendition of the fugitive to the person claiming such service. The Fugitive Slave law consigned the person thus seized to a commissioner to be handed over to slavery in such haste as to exclude him from the benefit of a fair trial, at the place of his residence, where he was known and could obtain witnesses.

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Meantime, by high handed measures the Union men in the Cotton States were gradually coerced and rendered almost powerless under the persistent efforts of the secessionists. Throughout the slave States the non-slaveowners, almost universally, were Union men, and opposed to secession, and looked upon the war of the rebellion as designed by those who commenced it to perpetuate and extend that system. In voting, when they had opportunity they rejected the principle of secession ; neither did they, as a class, enter the rebel army until forced into its ranks by an unrelenting conscription.

It is strange that these leaders were unable or unwilling to see that the decline, which was noticeable forty years before, of the material prosperity of the slave States, was owing to that wasteful system ; and still more strange that in

CHAP. the face of these facts they were continually devising means
LVII. to extend a system of labor which failed to give them success
1860. as a people. An exponent of the basis of the confederacy
may be found in an address by its Vice President and ablest
statesman, A. H. Stephens; he proclaims the true condition
of the negro to be that of servitude as an inferior being;
1861. alluding to the United States Constitution and its framers
Mar. he said: "This stone (slavery) which was rejected by the
21. first builders is become the chief stone of the corner in our
new edifice." And these disunionists went to war to protect
and extend slavery; the National Government, as a matter
of defense, to protect the public property and to defend the
Union of the States.

The Governors of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia, Louisiana, and Alabama took measures to have special sessions of the Legislatures called, or to have conventions held the members of which were to be elected by the people. The States of North Carolina and Arkansas did not take action by their Legislatures, as the majority of the people were opposed to secession. Thus was Tennessee also loyal to the Union. This loyalty was greatly strengthened by Andrew Johnson in the United States Senate and Emerson Etheridge in the House.

The doctrine that the President could not *coerce* a State was strenuously urged as a political truth; and it gave the disunionists great encouragement to know that Mr. Buchanan, the President, was understood to hold that opinion, hence it became necessary to press matters in order to complete the secession movement before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration. Meetings to promote the cause were held in prominent places in the Cotton States, and the most remarkable misrepresentations were put forth in respect to the action and the sentiments of the people of the free States; and these passed without contradiction, for that was prevented by the exclusion of Northern declarations to the contrary and Northern newspapers. It is

not strange that by these means the people, especially the least intelligent, were grossly deceived.

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The majority of the people of the border States was opposed to these disunion measures; they knew that in case of war between the two sections they must suffer most from their geographical position, and they did not wish to be made a shield for their rash neighbors. These secession measures were planned and carried out by comparatively very few men, the people scarcely having an opportunity to take action on the subject. When the Colonies complained to England the people had the opportunity of freely expressing their views.

The events transpiring had an influence upon the finances of the country. Business began to decline, and capital, ever sensitive, to withdraw from investment. The vast quantities of merchandise on hand were thrown upon the market both by the importer and the domestic manufacturer. Early in November almost the only trade with the South was that of fire-arms; and former debts from that section were unpaid, while exchange was so high as to be almost ruinous to the honorable Southern merchants who wished to pay their Northern creditors. Meanwhile some of the Southern State Legislatures authorized the suspension of specie payments by the banks, and also a *suspension* of payments of debts due Northern creditors. This state of trade affected the National Government, and it was forced to borrow money at high rates of interest to pay the current expenses.

Nov.

The forts, arsenals, and navy-yards in the South had very few soldiers in them to protect the United States property; only eighty men were in Fort Moultrie in Charleston Harbor, where, from indications, would be the first assault upon the authority of the Government. The venerable Lieutenant-General Scott urged the President for permission to throw a sufficient number of men into the fort to defend it from any attack the insurgents might make. But in vain. The President in his timidity and

CHAP. trammels of party would not comply with this patriotic
LVII. request. The loyal people were astounded at this apathy
1860. or remission of duty.

The Legislature of South Carolina provided for the military defense of the State; they were henceforth to be "a people happy, prosperous, and free." The army and navy officers—natives of the State, more than sixty in number—were urged to resign their commissions and join the ranks of secession. "Vigilance Associations" were formed throughout the State; these assumed "full power to decide all cases that might be brought before them," "power to arrest all suspicious white persons and bring them before the Executive Committee for trial," to put down all negro preachings, prayer-meetings, and all congregations of negroes, that they (the Associations) might deem unlawful. Under these committees great numbers—because they were from the North—of men and women, teachers, preachers, travelers, and others were driven from the State.

Dec.
3.

The second session of the 36th Congress began, and President Buchanan sent in his Annual Message, in which he ascribed the existing evils between the States to the "violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, which had at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with some vague notions of freedom." He announced that the revenue must be collected; he denied the right of a State to secede, but he had no authority under the Constitution to coerce a State—a doctrine very consoling to those who had entered upon the treasonable attempt to break up the Union. He suggested that the late election of President did not afford just cause for dissolving the Union; that the incoming President could not, if he wished, interfere with slavery; he was the executor of the laws, not the maker nor the expounder. These facts the disunion leaders well knew, but they were encouraged by this announcement of non-coercion to urge the

slave States into secession before the new President was inaugurated.

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Discussions continued in both Houses of Congress; resolutions in great numbers were introduced by the members, to be referred to the Committee of Thirty-three, which had been appointed on the state of the country. These resolutions show the state of feeling of the members on the subject, and indeed of all the people, their constituents. Efforts were made by the committee to arrive at a satisfactory result by guaranteeing what the slaveowners desired, but it was soon seen that all conciliatory measures were vain; the secessionists did not want compromises; nothing short of absolute separation would satisfy them; and the thinking portion of the people saw that no concessions would avert the calamity of an attempt to destroy the Union.

Floyd, the Secretary of War, early in December passed over to the Governor of South Carolina the United States arsenal at Charleston under the pretext of preventing its being seized by the mob. Here were 70,000 stand of arms, the quotas designed for several Southern States. On the day on which South Carolina seceded he sent an order to the commandant of the Alleghany arsenal, near Pittsburg, "to ship 78 guns to Newport, near Galveston, Texas, and 46 guns to Ship Island, near Balize, at the mouth of the Mississippi river." These forts were far from being finished or ready for their guns, but they were to be slyly transferred to the secessionists. The loyal people of Pittsburg protested against the shipment and the President countermanded the order. These guns were ten and eight-inch columbiads, the largest and finest in the country.

Dec.
24.

Three days after South Carolina seceded Major Robert Anderson, who was in command of the forts in Charleston Harbor, dismantling Fort Moultrie, spiking the guns and burning the carriages, evacuated it, taking with him its munitions of war, and occupied Fort Sumter. Prudence dictated this transfer, as no reinforcements came and Fort

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Moultrie could easily be taken on the land side, as that was unfortified. Castle Pinckney, another fort, was dismantled in the same manner.

This movement created the most intense excitement throughout the land; the loyal portion thinking it an indication that the government intended to resist the insurgents. In the South the spirit of rebellion was more than ever rampant. The leaders professed to believe this the first advance in "coercing" a State. Major Anderson had only seventy-nine effective men, but in that little band were no traitors.

Forts Moultrie and Pinckney were at once occupied by the State militia, under orders from Governor Pickens. These were armed from the United States arsenal. It had been proclaimed that "our young men will do the storming and escalading; our slaves will raise the crops, and make our ditches, glacis, and earthworks for our defense." In accordance with this, more than a thousand negroes, sent by their masters, were put to work to repair the forts and mount guns. This could easily have been prevented by shells from Fort Sumter's guns, but Major Anderson had orders to act only on the defensive. Soon as possible commissioners from Charleston came to Washington and demanded of the President either to order Major Anderson to evacuate all the forts in the harbor or reoccupy Fort Moultrie! This demand, so arrogant in its manner and terms, was not granted. From this time onward the "vigilance committees" were a greater terror than ever to the Union men and women, especially those of Northern birth. The atrocities inflicted upon them and the free negroes would seem incredible in this age, if the spirit which inspired them is not recognized.

The Collector of the Port of Charleston began to pay over to the State authorities the duties he collected. The President resolved to collect the duties on shipboard by sending a revenue cutter to lie off the harbor. He removed the Collector from office and nominated another; this nom-

ination he sent to the Senate for confirmation, but it was rejected by means of a few Northern Democratic Senators aiding those from the South.

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At a caucus held at Washington by the Senators from seven of the Southern States it was resolved to assume, for the present, the political control, and also the military affairs, of the South; to advise the calling of a convention of delegates from these seceding States, to meet at Montgomery on the 13th of the following February; to coerce the border States to secede, and in some way influence Maryland into a conflict with the National Government. They were of the opinion that by remaining in the Senate, though their States had seceded, they might prevent the passage of any measures such as the Volunteer, Force, or Loan bills, and thus disable the incoming administration from defending the Government's authority. In a letter* written from Washington, and dated January 7th, Yulee, one of the Senators from Florida, says, in speaking of the above bills: "Whereas, by remaining in our places until the 4th of March, it is thought we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied and disable the Republicans from effecting any legislation which will strengthen the hands of the incoming administration." Yet these Senators were at this very time under oath to support the Constitution and the Government. They assumed that Mr. Lincoln would be compelled to wait until a special session of the new Congress could assemble in order to vote supplies, authorize the necessary military expenses and calls for volunteers.

Jan.
6.

These leaders in only one State, South Carolina, permitted the people to vote direct on the subject of secession. The conventions, to which the people elected delegates with the understanding that their action was to be submitted to them for their approval or rejection, took the responsibility to pass ordinances of secession, upon which they did not dare give the people an opportunity to pass

* This letter, among other documents, was found at Fernandina, Florida, by the Union forces.

CHAP. judgment by their vote. This was contrary to their own
LVII. constitutional form of making organic changes in their
1861. own State government. Only one State—Louisiana—in
the entire South paid its own postage. The annual
expense of carrying the mails in those States averaged
annually about three and a half million of dollars more
than the postage collected. This, however, was not
assumed as one of the grounds of secession.

The difficulties of the Kansas question, which had
lasted over five years, were at length ended by that Terri-
Jan. tory being admitted into the Union as a free State. A
30. month later the Territories, Nevada, Colorado, and Daco-
tah, were organized. Congress by its silence on the subject
leaving the question of slavery to be acted upon by the
people themselves, when they should apply for admission
into the Union.

Though the President elect had designed to journey in
as quiet manner as possible from his home in Springfield,
Illinois, to Washington, yet by the great anxiety of the
people to see him he was induced to travel more slowly
and to visit various places on the route. The Legislatures
of the States through which he was to pass cordially
invited him to visit their assemblies and become their
guest. On the morning of his leaving home his neighbors
Feb. crowded to the depot to bid him farewell. He made a
11. feeling address, in the course of which he said: "My
friends, no one not in my position can appreciate the
sadness I feel at this parting. A duty devolves upon me
which is, perhaps, greater than that which has devolved
upon any other man since the days of Washington. He
never would have succeeded except for the aid of Divine
Providence upon which at all times he relied. I feel that
I can not succeed without the same Divine aid which
sustained him. I hope you, my friends, will all pray that
I may receive that same Divine assistance, with which
success is certain." He traveled slowly by special trains
to Washington; at all stations, towns and cities, throngs of

people welcomed him, showing an intense interest, for at no time previous had a Chief Magistrate entered upon his office in circumstances so perilous to the nation.

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Delegates from six of the seceded States assembled in Convention at Montgomery, Alabama, to frame a constitution for the Confederacy. They copied very closely that of the United States, only introducing articles in respect to slaves and slavery; sanctioning the idea of property in man, which idea Madison and the other fathers of the United States Constitution repudiated. The Constitution of the Confederate States in one article reads; "No bill of attainder, or *ex-post facto law*, or law denying or impairing the right of property in negro slaves, shall be passed." The convention established a provisional government and elected Jefferson Davis President, and A. H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-President. These were duly inaugurated, Davis making an address in which he assumed the right of the seceding States to take possession of the United States forts and property within their boundaries and settle for them afterward; that "the commercial world had an interest in our exports (meaning cotton) scarcely less than our own;" he suggested "the well known resources for retaliation upon the commerce of an enemy."—One of the most remarkable fallacies with which the disunion leaders deceived themselves was that England would aid them materially in order to obtain cotton for her factories. Though the governing classes in that country, with but few exceptions, gave the rebellion their sympathy, yet they were too politic to enter upon war to obtain cotton from these States when it could be had from other sources at a little greater expense. At this result the disappointment of the leaders of the Confederacy was beyond expression. On a par with this want of wisdom were their mistaken views of the character of the people of the free States. They seemed to forget that the industrial activity and energy which they had displayed in their onward progress would now be applied to putting down a rebellion.

Feb.
4.

Feb.
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CHAPTER LVIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Inauguration.—Effect of the Inaugural.—Bombardment of Sumter.—The President's Call for Volunteers.—The Responses.—Riot in Baltimore.—The Spirit of Loyalty.—Confederate Congress at Richmond.—Feeling in Missouri and Kentucky.—Advance into Virginia.—Col. Ellsworth's Death.—Proclamations of Generals.—Instructions to United States Ministers Abroad.—English Neutrality.—Big Bethel Skirmish.—West Virginia's Loyalty.—Enemy Driven Out.—Battle of Bull Run.—The Effect.—Missouri—Battle of Wilson's Creek.—Death of General Lyon.—Kentucky's Legislation.—Finances and the Army.—Ball's Bluff Disaster.—Hatteras Expedition.—Mason and Slidell.—Battle of Belmont.—The Invasion of Kentucky.—Battle of Mill Spring.—Davis's Special Message.—Meeting of Congress.—The Union Army.—Edwin M. Stanton.—Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson.—Confederate Retreat.

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THE day of Mr. Lincoln's inauguration drew near; as it approached the painful suspense and anxiety of the people increased. Rumors were afloat of plots to prevent the new President from assuming office, and indeed of threatened injury to his person. The military were called out under the orders of General Scott; the first time in our history thought necessary to protect a Chief Magistrate from banded conspirators. In his inaugural the President announced that he should enforce the laws of the Union in accordance with his oath of office. "The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imposts." Alluding to the secessionists, he says: "The

government will not assail you; you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." His manner betokened a man cool and determined, but of kindly instincts, and one who fully appreciated the novelty of his situation. The inaugural gave universal satisfaction, except to those who, from their open or secret opposition to the government, would not approve its sentiments of loyalty. It strengthened the Union men of the South and created a very favorable impression in the Border States. But the secessionists proclaimed it was a war measure, and the Confederate government issued orders for the people to prepare for the conflict. The Southern newspapers more fully expressed the views of the disunion leaders. They urged immediate action; in the Border States they expressed opposition to "coercion"—a favorite term of those who wished to gain time for the inauguration of rebellion. Mr. Lincoln's principal cabinet officers were: William H. Seward, of New York, Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, Secretary of Treasury; Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of War; Gideon Welles, of Connecticut, Secretary of Navy.

The Confederate government endeavored to "*coerce*" the Border States to join them, by prohibiting the importation of slaves into the Confederacy from the United States, "except by persons emigrating thereto for the purpose of settlement or residence." This was specially aimed at Virginia, for the sale of surplus negroes from that State to the Cotton States averaged annually several million dollars. This law would materially affect that portion of the State east of the mountains, where the slaves were numerous, but not the portion west, where there were but few, and where the people were almost universally in favor of preserving the integrity of the Union.

The Confederate authorities desired, by means of commissioners, to treat as an independent nation with the United States government; but as such they were not recognized.

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The inaugural gave encouragement to the Union sentiment in the Border States. Kentucky refused to call a State Convention; Tennessee, by a majority of 50,000, resolved to remain in the Union; North Carolina appeared to be more loyal than ever, and even Virginia began to show strong attachment to the old order of things, but her people were not permitted to have a voice in their own destiny.

From the inauguration onward for some weeks, Fort Sumter was the subject of much anxiety both South and North; the former with hopes it would be evacuated, the latter for the most part that it might be maintained, and its garrison reinforced, and above all that there should be no concessions to men with arms in their hands, setting the authority of the government at defiance. Mr. Lincoln, slow and cautious in judgment, determined that Sumter should not be evacuated but defended, and let the responsibility rest upon those who should make the attack. The United States Senate, then in session, was also opposed to the withdrawal of the garrison.

A similar scene occurred in the harbor of Pensacola. Lieutenant Slemmer evacuated Fort McRae and passed over to Fort Pickens, which, by the almost superhuman exertions of his men and with aid of marines from the ships of war off the harbor, he fortified and held the enemy at defiance. During the night, boats with muffled oars brought him provisions and munitions and men, landing them safely on the island on which stood the Fort.

The government resolved to send provisions to Sumter; preparations for this purpose were made in the port of New York. At Charleston, General G. T. Beauregard, unmolested by Anderson, had been for weeks fortifying points on the harbor to prevent ships entering, and also to attack Sumter if not surrendered. President Lincoln sent a messenger to inform Governor Pickens of his intention of sending provisions to the garrison of Fort Sumter. The steward of the Fort had been warned a few days before

that he would not be permitted to purchase fresh provisions in the Charleston market. CHAP.
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Beauregard telegraphed to Jefferson Davis, at Montgomery, the information received from President Lincoln. The rebel Cabinet was deeply agitated; should they take the awful responsibility of commencing civil war? After two days came a telegram directing Beauregard to demand the surrender of the fort as soon as possible. The demand was made with the promise of facilities for transporting the troops and their private property. Major Anderson courteously refused to surrender his trust, incidentally remarking to the messengers—Beauregard's aids—that his provisions would last only for a few days. This refusal was telegraphed to Davis, and also the remark in respect to the provisions. Davis replied, saying: "If Major Anderson will state the time at which, as indicated by him, he will evacuate, and agree that in the meantime he will not use his guns against us, unless ours should be employed against Fort Sumter, you are thus to avoid the effusion of blood." "If this or its equivalent be refused, reduce the fort as your judgment deems to be most practicable." This was in substance communicated to Major Anderson, who replied, that unless he had orders from his Government or supplies he would evacuate by noon on the 15th inst. To this the "aids" answered, that fire would be opened upon Sumter in one hour from that time; the surrender was not wanted, except by inaugurating war,—thus "to fire the Southern Heart."

Promptly at the time indicated, April 12th, 4.20 A.M., a mortar on Sullivan Island gave the signal. This was followed by one gun from each of five batteries and a floating iron-clad. After a pause of a few moments fifty guns in concert threw forth their solid shot and shell upon the devoted Sumter and its garrison of seventy men. No reply was made; the men were ordered out of danger; at six o'clock breakfast was served; the men were then detailed under their respective officers, with the intention

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Apr.
8.Apr.
11.Apr.
12.
2.30
A. M.

CHAP. of relieving each other from time to time. The first
LVIII. detail, under Captain Arthur Doubleday, fired the first gun
1861. at 7 A.M., then for nearly three hours solid shot had been
pouring in, and shells were bursting every minute within
the inclosure. The parapet guns, after a few rounds, were
left, as the exposure was too great to man them. The men
of the second and third details or reliefs refused to wait
their turns, but insisted on joining in the fight; and so
vigorous were the discharges from Sumter that the enemy
thought the fort must have been reinforced. All were
inspired with patriotic zeal; even some Irish laborers joined
in with their native ardor for a fight. Presently one of the
officers heard the report of a gun on the parapet; going to
see, he found a company of the laborers amusing them-
selves in that exposed place by firing at the enemy. One
of them exclaimed with great glee that he had hit the
floating battery in the center. The soldiers characterized
them as the "Irish Irregulars." During Friday night the
mortar batteries kept up their fire to prevent the garrison
making repairs, and at dawn all the guns opened. Now
was fired red-hot balls, which set the barracks on fire, blew
up one magazine and endangered another, so that to avoid
further danger ninety barrels of powder were rolled into
the sea. The heat and smoke became stifling, yet the
brave fellows fought on breathing through wet cloths.
For thirty-four hours had the bombardment lasted, when a
boat was seen approaching from Fort Moultrie bearing a
white flag. Negotiations began, and Anderson agreed to
evacuate the fort. The troops were transferred to the
Apr. 14. *Baltic* steamer, which brought them to New York. No
one of the Union soldiers nor of the enemy was killed in
the conflict. Major Anderson from on board the steamer
sent his report to Washington. After describing the ruin
of the fort, he says in conclusion: "The troops marched out
with colors flying and drums beating, bringing away com-
pany and private property, and saluting their flag with fifty
guns."

The firing on Fort Sumter fired the Northern heart. The insult to the flag and the nation had marvelous effect upon the minds of the people. By this act the secessionists had alienated more or less their most influential friends in the non-slaveholding States; could they have foretold the outburst of mingled sorrow and indignation that arose from all classes of persons, they would never have fired upon Fort Sumter without provocation. The hitherto sympathizers with the demands of the slave owners now, with but comparatively few exceptions, were as outspoken in condemnation of the act as those who had for years opposed those demands.

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There was an indescribable feeling of emotion pervading the minds of all; one impulse seemed to move millions as one man; a quiet determination of purpose took possession of the people more powerful than if it had been demonstrative. The news of the attack and surrender had been sent to wherever the telegraph extended, and on the day—the Sabbath—the solemnity of the worshipers was deep and all-absorbing. Earnest prayers went up from the pulpits and were earnestly responded to from the congregations, for the Nation and for direction in this momentous crisis. This single act in a few short hours had made rival political partisans a band of brothers; prejudices melted away before the heat of an overwhelming love of country, as if they had never reflected upon its blessings, until the attempt was made to destroy its unity.

On Monday morning came the President's proclamation calling for 75,000 men to serve for three months to enforce the laws which had been opposed "and their execution obstructed in the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas."

Apr.
15.

An appeal was made to all loyal citizens to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of the National Union. Responses to this appeal came at once from the loyal States; volunteers were offered by thousands; especially prompt were the States of Pennsylvania, Massachu-

CHAP. LVIII.
1861. setts, New York and Ohio. These anticipating this state of affairs had by legislative enactment placed their militia in a condition for prompt action.

From the governors of the slave States—Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas—came responses within a few days, all refusing to send their quotas of men, Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee threatening to resist any attempt at “coercion” on the part of the National Government. This was more the sentiment of the individual governors of these States than of the majority of the people, as it was afterward shown. Every governor of the Border States was in favor of the secessionists except Governor Hicks, of Maryland. So deeply was the plot laid that at first the National authorities were taken at great disadvantage, the usual case with rebellions; the insurgents were prepared and therefore at first successful.

Never before in the free States was there such an exhibition of love of country. The people were intelligent and familiar with the merits of the question at issue—union or disunion—and acted accordingly. The flag—the symbol of a united Nation—became almost an idol; it floated from church steeples, from public buildings, from private houses, from mast heads; it decorated the shops and offices along the streets; the drayman put it on his horse and the engineer on his locomotive, while its beautiful colors were blended in rosettes and ribbons worn by matrons and maidens—all these manifestations told that the hearts of the people were with the government.

Pennsylvania, being the nearest, was the first to place men in Washington; six hundred of whom arrived there in four days after the call was issued. Massachusetts was really the first in the field in respect to readiness; her men were finely drilled and armed, and within twenty-four hours after the telegram brought the call for troops nearly every company of the four regiments called for were in Boston

ready to march. The men left their workshops, stores and farms at a minute's warning.

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Benjamin F. Butler was commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and ordered to Washington with two regiments, the Sixth and Eighth; the Third and Fourth were sent by sea in steamers to Fortress Monroe, thus securing that important place to the nation. The Sixth, in passing through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob in the interest of secession, and three of the men were killed—the first blood shed in the great rebellion. This was the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, April 19th, 1775, and the nation entered upon a second struggle as a prelude to a still greater career of humane and industrial progress, to a higher plane of a Christianized civilization. It took eight years of war to establish our independence, and it took four years of war to make us a united people, in the course of which was removed the greatest drawback to the whole nation's progress.

Apr.
19.

The spirit of loyalty in the free States continued to furnish men and means to sustain the cause. In less than a month more than \$23,000,000 were given as a free offering to the Government, and volunteers far beyond the number called for.

Lieutenant Jones, in command at Harper's Ferry, learned that a force of about 2,000 Virginians were on their way to pillage the armory. As he had but fifty men, he prudently destroyed all the war material, blew up the magazine and withdrew to Carlisle, Pa. The following day the U. S. Navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk, was destroyed. Satisfactory reasons for this wanton destruction of property, amounting to many millions' worth, have never been given. The yard could have been defended with prompt action. About 2,000 cannon were thus furnished the disunionists, which they used during the whole war.

Apr.
19.

Threats were frequently made by newspapers and public men in the interest of the slave States that Washington would soon be in the hands of the insurgents. Their

CHAP. authorities made the most strenuous exertions to increase
 LVIII. and organize an army. Jefferson Davis first called for
 1861. 22,000 men, and soon again for 20,000 more. Their Congress met in called session, and resolved to remove their seat of government from Montgomery to Richmond, intending, no doubt, to "coerce" Virginia to pass an ordinance of secession, which the majority of the people of the State in an impartial vote would evidently oppose. Virginia's self-constituted authorities handed her over, and she was graciously received into the Confederacy by this Congress, just assembled at Richmond. But the people were promised the privilege of voting on this illegal ordinance of secession on the 23d instant; however, before that day came, all persons expressing Union sentiments were either driven out of the eastern portion of the State or compelled to hold their peace. Even the Mayor of Richmond, by proclamation, enjoined the people to inform him of any persons *suspected* of being Union in their sympathies (and Northern female teachers were advised by one of the newspapers not to talk). The election by the people was a farce.

May
6-23.

June
11.

The portion of the State west of the Blue Ridge was almost free of slaves and could not be "dragooned" into secession; the people there understood the question, and did not choose to fight in the cause, hence they refused to answer the call for troops by Governor Letcher for the Southern confederacy; they also took measures to become separate from the Eastern portion, and in a short time formed a new State known as West Virginia, which as such in due time was admitted into the Union. The national government threw a protecting force into the new State under General George B. McClellan, and speedily West Virginia was as free from armed secessionists as old Virginia of Unionists.

In Tennessee the people's vote was disregarded, though by a majority of 50,000 they had decided against secession, yet the legislature led by Isham G. Harris, the governor, in secret session adopted the Constitution of the Confederate

States : Upon this act the people were invited to vote on the 8th of the next month. Meantime, as customary, a series of outrages were perpetrated on the Union men, to prevent their voting against the usurpation. Arkansas also by resolution of a Convention declared herself out of the Union. The Convention proceeded to pass laws by which all moneys due Northern creditors were to be paid into the treasury of the State.

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6.

The governor of Missouri—Claiborne F. Jackson—was a secessionist, and refused to furnish troops in response to President Lincoln's requisition. But the people themselves, under the leadership of Frank P. Blair and B. Gratz Brown, raised in two months nearly 10,000 men. Captain Nathaniel Lyon, who was in command at St. Louis, suddenly surrounded a rebel camp—Fort Jackson—and captured every man. These had assembled under the pretence of preserving the peace of the State, and had been drilling for weeks ; their arms having been secretly sent them from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, whence they had been taken from the United States Arsenal. Previous to this, the energetic Captain Lyon, under orders from Washington, had transferred the arms and war material from the arsenal at St. Louis to Springfield, Illinois. The German element in the population of St. Louis stood bravely for the Union in this crisis.

Kentucky hesitated. She wanted to be neutral, but that policy was soon seen to be impossible. Under the influence of John C. Breckenridge, her young men were, for the most part, in favor of aiding the disloyal States. Mass meetings were, however, held in different places, and the most influential men of middle life and upward came out in favor of the Union. Kentucky was only saved by the presence of nearly 20,000 volunteers from the free States over the Ohio river ; in truth Maryland and Missouri were also saved to the Union by their nearness to the free States.

From the frequent reconnoissances and surveys made by the confederates it was evident they intended to fortify the

CHAP. heights of Arlington, of Georgetown and Alexandria, across
LVIII. the river from Washington; they had already occupied
1861. many points on the upper Potomac, ready to pass over into Maryland. The disunion leaders in the Cotton States had sent several thousand soldiers to this army now threatening the National Capital. These leaders had determined, as some of their papers indiscreetly stated, to make the border States, especially Virginia, the battle ground. They were willing to plunge the nation into war, but were anxious to have others suffer the consequences. Howell Cobb, the recent Secretary of the Treasury under Buchanan, said in a speech: "The people of the Gulf States need have no apprehension; they might go on with their planting and their other business as usual; the war would not come to their section; its theater would be along the borders of the Ohio river and in Virginia." In truth the Old Dominion was sadly desolated; for four years, over her soil army after army passed and repassed. The devastation was inaugurated by the Confederates themselves, lest any sustenance or shelter should be found for the Union soldiers.

General Scott anticipated the movements of the enemy by sending 10,000 troops in three divisions at 2 A. M. to seize the heights and fortify them. The Orange and Manassas railroad was seized, and on it a train having on board 300 Confederate soldiers, who were captured. Alexandria was also occupied. In this town over the "Marshall House" had floated for weeks a secession flag, which could be seen from the President's mansion, and to which it was given out the flag was designed as a taunt. Colonel Elmer Ellsworth, of the Zouaves, seeing the flag floating, determined to get possession of it. He ascended to the roof, pulled down the flag, and when descending was shot and instantly killed by the proprietor of the house, who a moment after was shot dead by a private soldier who had accompanied the Colonel. The death of young Ellsworth was felt throughout the land, as he possessed remarkable qualities as a commander and disciplinarian.

May
24.

General Irwin McDowell, in command of the Union forces, issued a proclamation in which he enjoined all the officers to make "statements of the amount, kind and value of all private property taken or used for government purposes, and the damage done in any way to private property, that justice may be done alike to private citizens and government." This is given to show the conciliatory spirit of the National Government; these regulations were enforced. Beauregard, in command of the Confederates, a few days later issued a counter-proclamation to the Virginia people in which he said: "A reckless and unprincipled tyrant has invaded your soil. Abraham Lincoln, regardless of all moral, legal and constitutional restraints, has thrown his Abolition hosts among you, who are murdering and impressing your citizens, confiscating and destroying your property, and committing other acts of violence and outrage too shocking and revolting to humanity to be enumerated." It is due to the truth of history that these facts should be noticed, as it was by such gross misrepresentations the mass of the people of the South were deceived before and during the war.

The Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, announced to our ministers abroad the policy of the Government in relation to foreign intervention. To Charles Francis Adams, at the British Court, he wrote: "You will make no admissions of weakness in our Constitution, or any apprehensions on the part of the Government." "You will in no case listen to any suggestions of compromises by this Government under foreign auspices with its discontented citizens." To Mr. Dayton, Minister to France, he said: "The President neither expects nor desires any intervention, nor even any favor, from the government of France or any other in the emergency." "If several European States should combine in that intervention, the President and the people of the United States deem the Union, which would then be at stake, worth all the cost and all the sacrifice of a contest

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11.

CHAP. with all the world in arms if such a contest should prove
LVIII. inevitable."

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21.

In respect to the blockade the Secretary wrote to Mr. Adams: "You say that by our own laws, and the laws of nations, this Government has a clear right to suppress insurrection. An exclusion of commerce from National ports, which have been seized by insurgents in the equitable form of blockade, is a proper means to that end. You will not insist that our blockade is to be respected if it is not maintained by a competent force; you will add that the blockade is now, and it will continue to be so maintained, and therefore we expect it to be respected by Great Britain."

The astonishment of the American people at the position taken by England almost equaled their indignation. For many years invectives without number were thrown upon them, especially those of the free States, by influential persons in England, because they did not take political measures to abolish slavery, and thus violate the compromises of the Constitution made in other days, when the moral, political and economical evils of the system were not so well known.

But now, when the slave States had entered upon a war to protect and extend slavery, they had, with few exceptions, the full sympathy of the ruling class of England. Swift sailing vessels and steamers, with little hindrance on the part of the government, were fitted out from her ports laden with munitions of war to aid the Rebellion. The Queen, or rather the government, issued a proclamation of professed neutrality, putting the Confederates on the same footing as the United States Government. The cotton manufacturers and the iron interests, representing many millions of money, and employing several hundred thousand operatives, were in favor of recognizing the Confederacy. The former of these were nearly ruined by the want of cotton, which was cut off by the blockade, and the latter by the loss of the American market, as the tariffs

imposed to meet the extraordinary expenses incurred by the civil war had also given the American iron-masters reasons to extend their works, and they soon were able to supply the wants of the country.

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General B. F. Butler was transferred from Baltimore to Fortress Monroe. The Confederates, under General Magruder, occupied prominent points commanding the approaches to Richmond, while Yorktown and Gloucester Point were also fortified. General Butler resolved, by a night movement, to surprise and capture two positions of the enemy in the vicinity—Little Bethel and Big Bethel. The latter the stronger, and under the immediate command of Magruder. The plan was well arranged, and the troops set out on their night march, in order to attack Little Bethel at daylight. But two of the regiments came into collision, by some mistake made in the darkness, and fired into each other till the mistake was discovered. This firing gave information to the enemy, and those in Little Bethel hastily retreated to the larger and better fortified position. Meantime, the other portion of the Federal troops hearing the firing, fell back, lest they should be taken in flank. In the morning the disappointed Federals came together; a conference was held, and it was rashly determined to attack Big Bethel, whose guns commanded the approach. The result was a repulse, as might have been expected, yet the soldiers, some of whom had only been under arms a few weeks, stood the fire well. Here fell two of the most accomplished men in the command—Lieutenant Greble, of the United States Artillery, and Theodore Winthrop, secretary and aid to General Butler.

May
10.

June
11.

An election held in West Virginia shows that the great majority of the people of that section were true and loyal to the National Government. A few days afterward a force was thrown across the Ohio at several points. This force made short work with the armed enemy of West Virginia; driving out both them and the troops sent to their aid by the Confederacy.

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May
26.June
11.June
12.

General McClellan opened the campaign by issuing a proclamation, in which was promised protection to the lives and property of the Union men from the armed enemy who were preying upon them. Grafton, an important point at the junction of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway with that of Northwest Virginia, was occupied by the enemy, who, hearing of the advance, evacuated that place, after destroying, as far as possible, culverts and railway bridges. The next place was Philippi, where the enemy were routed and scattered in a spirited fight, they leaving all their munitions; they, however, made a strenuous but unsuccessful attempt to recover their lost ground. A great deal of leniency was shown to the disloyal portion of the inhabitants, which policy they but little appreciated. A Confederate force was concentrated at Rich Mountain; though strongly entrenched, General Rosecrans attacked them so vigorously that, under General Pegram, they retreated in the night in order to reach General Garnet's main force at Laurel Hill; but they became entangled in the woods, and food failing, six hundred of them surrendered as prisoners of war. When this was known, General Garnet rapidly retreated, throwing away his superfluous baggage. He passed along Cheat River, hoping by means of by-paths to reach the Valley of the Shenandoah. Though he impeded the pursuers by breaking down bridges and felling trees across the road, yet in spite of these obstructions the Union forces overtook him at Carrick's Ford. Garnet here made a stand to confront his indefatigable pursuers. He had taken a strong position on a hill whose base was densely covered by a jungle of laurel bushes; with him were 2,000 men, and a reserve of 3,000 men in the rear. Rosecrans made a demonstration in front at the Ford, while a portion of his men, by a flank movement, groped their way through the jungle and to the top of the hill, and with a shout rushed on the enemy, captured one of the guns commanding the Ford, and drove them before them. Garnet behaved with great bravery, but presently fell pierced by a rifle ball.

Then his men, panic-stricken, fled in confusion, and reaching the reserves in the rear, the panic was communicated to them and they also fled, only one regiment of Georgians making a short stand. These prisoners were treated with great kindness, clothed and fed, and unwisely permitted to simply take the oath of allegiance to the United States Government and then dismissed. Large numbers of these men, violating their oath, were soon found in the Confederate ranks. The rebel loss in these conflicts was about 1,500 killed, wounded and prisoners, while the Union loss was only 20 killed and 60 wounded.

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General McClellan was relieved and ordered to Washington; General Rosecrans taking command of the Union forces in West Virginia. July
22.

Preparations were made for a general advance of the troops in the vicinity of Washington early in July. The troops under General Patterson on the Upper Potomac; those under McClellan—the extreme right—from West Virginia; and the forces under McDowell extending along the river opposite Washington; these all were to advance and gradually contract their lines around Richmond. The plan was General Scott's. General McDowell was to move direct upon Manassas Junction, on the railroad twenty-seven miles from Alexandria, an important strategic position held by the enemy. General Patterson had already moved from Chambersburg, Pa., and reached the Potomac and passed over, General Joe Johnston, in command of the Confederates in the Valley of the Shenandoah, falling back, after destroying what was left of the armory at Harper's Ferry and transferring the machinery to Richmond, there to be used in the service of the rebellion to the close of the war.

June
16.

Patterson also issued his proclamation, promising protection to loyal men and private property, and the troops were enjoined to suppress any insurrection of the slaves. Ruin was found along the pathway of the retreating Confederate army; it was they who inaugurated the system of desolating the country through which they passed, nor till

CHAP. the next year was any retaliation practiced by the Federal
LVIII. armies, and that but seldom.

1860.

Patterson had about 23,000 men, but he seemed to act without a fixed purpose or design ; for some unexplained reason he recrossed the Potomac and fell back to Hagerstown, he said in consequence of orders from Washington, and the enemy returned to the south side of the river. Then again he crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, and appeared to hesitate, taking no responsibility. The campaign seemed aimless. The enemy now fell back beyond Martinsburg toward Winchester, where Johnston was said to have an army of 15,000 men well supplied with artillery. Patterson occupied Martinsburg. His orders were to press Johnston and prevent his reinforcing Beauregard at Manassas ; but he hesitated, and soon it was discovered that Johnston and his whole army had marched southward, yet he lingered till he heard of the disaster at Bull Run. The Government should have put in command of these troops a regularly educated military officer, and not have risked so much by entrusting them to incompetent hands.

June
18.

July
2.

July
20.

Meantime the Union troops were moving toward Manassas Junction, the enemy making but little resistance and falling back till they made a stand at Blackburn's Ford at Bull Run Creek, which they strongly fortified. McDowell resolved to turn the enemy's position and reach the Manassas Gap Railway, and thus intercept reinforcements from Winchester, as he fully expected Patterson to hold Johnston in check so that he could not bring aid to Beauregard.

McDowell made his arrangements to flank the enemy by crossing the creek at other fords. Parties sent out to reconnoitre on Saturday reported they had heard steam-whistles and the distant rumblings of railroad trains. It was learned after the battle that these trains had brought a portion of Johnston's forces.

July
21.

The various divisions of the Union army, but not in perfect concert, advanced to cross the fords. Owing to

want of discipline some of these divisions were behind the time appointed—daylight—to cross the fords nearly three hours. Of this want of concert the enemy availed themselves. They soon discovered the attack in front was a feint, and from that point they withdrew large detachments to be used elsewhere. The contest was a brave one on both sides, but desultory in the extreme, as might be expected from inexperienced men, nine-tenths of whom were going into battle for the first time. In different parts of the field the Confederates were driven from time to time and would recover ; batteries of cannon changed hands more than once. Finally the Federals drove the enemy nearly two miles, and deemed the victory won. The Union troops had been in motion from 2 A.M., and had been fighting from ten o'clock, and at 3 P.M., were resting when they were surprised and suddenly attacked by about 5,000 troops fresh from a train from Winchester. At this crisis the other Confederates, thus encouraged, renewed the conflict with vigor. The Union forces were thrown into confusion and retreated in disorder, and being undisciplined could not be as a whole effectually rallied. Yet individual regiments one after another stood in the way and fought gallantly, retarding the advance of the enemy till the stragglers could retire to the rear. While the soldiers of both armies were inexperienced and but partially disciplined, they fought worthy of their fathers. The Union forces lost 481 killed and 1,011 wounded, the Confederates 296 killed and 1,533 wounded. This success of the insurgents made known to the people of the free States that the rebellion could only be put down by hard fighting. “Beauregard’s victory at Manassas Junction inspired the Confederates with such confidence that they had not doubted for a single instant but that the North had received a mortal blow.” “But a few men, such as General Lee and General Joe Johnston and others, alone recognized the vital importance of the struggle in which they were engaged, and they

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CHAP. ceased not to warn the Southern people against their foolish
LVIII. imprudence.¹

1861.

June
13.

Missouri being a Border State, the people were much divided, but the majority were in favor of the union, especially might this be said of the entire German population. Governor Jackson had fled from the capital at Jefferson City after issuing a flaming proclamation calling for 50,000 men to repel the invaders, meaning the U. S. troops under Captain Lyon. The Governor had slipped off up the river with steamers laden with the State ordnance. The energetic Lyon went in pursuit in steamers the same evening, and sent troops by land in the same direction to seize railroads and protect bridges and to intercept the fugitive governor and his adherents, the main body moving to Rolla, the then terminus of the South Pacific railway.

June
17.

Lyon first stopped at the capital and installed a Military Governor, Colonel Boernstein, then with three steamers, on board of which were troops and field artillery, he continued the pursuit, landing near Booneville, a few miles below where Jackson and Sterling Price, a former governor of the State, had made an entrenched camp, and had a motley crowd, composed largely of the *outside voters* we have seen in the Kansas difficulties. After landing Lyon marched at once to assault the camp, but met the enemy on their way to oppose his landing; he immediately attacked them and after a few minutes they fled, taking refuge in their camp; this they also soon abandoned, scattering in all directions. About 40 of them were killed and great numbers made prisoners. Jackson and Price both fled toward the South, where they expected to join troops from Arkansas and Texas under General Rains and the famous Texan ranger, Ben McCullough.

Lyon was sadly in want of reinforcements, but as all the troops were at that time sent to protect Washington, he was compelled to pursue the enemy with insufficient force.

¹ Childe's Life of Lee, p. 60.

He sent forward Colonel Franz Sigel, who soon arrived at Springfield, in the south-western portion of the State; thence he advanced rapidly toward Carthage, to find all the insurgents united under Jackson, Price, and other chiefs. Though the enemy numbered 5,500 and a battery of five guns, and Sigel's force only 1,500 men and eight guns, two of which were twelve pounders, yet he did not hesitate to attack. He found them drawn up on a rising ground on the prairie; that morning they expected, as they expressed it, "to wipe out the Dutch hirelings." The battle commenced and the centre guns of the enemy were soon silenced, and they pulled down the secession flag and raised that of the State; upon this Sigel's men were unwilling to fire. Presently the rebel cavalry, being very numerous, began to outflank the Unionists and Sigel fell back to protect his train. He held the enemy in check, pouring in at the proper moment "a shower of canister and shrapnel shell" until he reached Springfield, in spite of the numerous force around him. The next day the insurgents were reinforced by about 5,000 Texans under Ben McCullough. Five days after the battle General Lyon arrived at Springfield, which place the enemy almost surrounded.

The Missouri State Convention, largely composed of Union men, took action by electing provisional State officers. The people of the State respected the authority of the convention.

July
20.

General Lyon ascertained that the enemy, 23,000 strong, were concentrating at Wilson's Creek ten miles south of Springfield, and were preparing some onward movement. He resolved to anticipate them. The entire Federal force marched from their entrenchments at Springfield in two divisions—the one under Lyon, the other under Sigel—to surprise the enemy before they made their advance. Lyon was to attack the front at daylight, and Sigel the rear at the same time. Both were prompt, and one of the fiercest battles thus far began; in front the enemy were driven from the field. Lyon greatly exposed himself and was wounded

Aug
9-10

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twice. The enemy rallied and made a desperate effort to regain what they had lost but were most severely repulsed by the cool determination of the Iowans, who lying close on the brow of a hill let their foe come within 40 feet before firing upon them. They recoiled in confusion and finally fell back down the hill. It was seen that they were about to make another attempt, and Lyon desired his men to charge bayonets as soon as they had discharged their pieces. "Who will lead us?" exclaimed the men. "I will myself," said the general. "Come on, my brave men." The enemy came up but only fired and did not wait for the bayonet charge but fled down the hill. General Lyon was killed by this discharge. He was universally regretted, being one of the most accomplished officers in the United States Army. Meantime General Sigel was also successful in driving the enemy before him, but was at length greatly outnumbered by encountering a large force in his front and compelled to retreat, losing five cannons, three of which the soldiers spiked. This was a drawn battle. The Union army lost 263 killed and 721 wounded; the rebels, 421 killed and more than a thousand wounded. The Union army under Major Sturgis fell back to Springfield, and finally to Rolla, the terminus of the railway, holding the enemy at bay, who now overran Southern Missouri, driving the Union men from their homes and pillaging the people generally. General J. C. Fremont assumed command in Missouri about the last of July.

Oct. 16. The rebels pushed their line of devastation up to Lexington on the Missouri River. This place was defended in the most heroic manner by Colonel Mulligan and his "Irish Brigade"—of 2,640 men,—but finally, when the enemy increased to nearly 20,000, he surrendered. This was but a barren victory, as the enemy were compelled to retreat rapidly toward the south, pursued by Fremont, who, after commencing the fortification of St. Louis, and organizing the forces already in the State and those collected at his call from other States, had taken the field (Sept. 26, himself.

Fremont was crippled for want of transportation, arms, clothing, and men. Yet, at a critical moment came to him an order from the Secretary of War and General Scott “to send 5,000 well-armed infantry to Washington without a moment’s delay.” Fremont, too, had issued a proclamation, in which he had declared the State under martial law; threatening, among the penalties, the freedom of the insurgents’ slaves. The latter clause offended those of the Union men who owned slaves, and at the suggestion of President Lincoln he modified that clause to read, “all slaves who have been employed on rebel military works.” But it raised a clamor among the politicians that did not cease till Fremont was superseded, when General Halleck assumed command of the “Department of the West.”

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12.

Fremont’s career at the West was brief—only one hundred days; but, being a man of military instincts and training, he showed in that time a sagacity which was not allowed fair practical development. In that brief time he was the first to suggest and inaugurate the following practices, then widely decried, but without which the war would not have been successfully concluded: the free use of cavalry (strongly opposed by General Scott and others); exchange of prisoners with the enemy; fortification of large cities, to allow armies to take the field; building of river gun-boats for interior operations at the West; and, the emancipation of the slaves. In short, he contributed more than is generally credited to him.

Sept.
10.

After the Union disaster at Bull Run the Confederates endeavored to regain West Virginia; sending a large force under Henry A. Wise and John B. Floyd. The latter was defeated by Rosecrans at Carnifex Ferry on Gauley River, but under favor of darkness fled, his men leaving all their munitions except what they could carry. General Robert E. Lee was sent with 9,000 men to drive the Federals from Cheat Mountain, but after several conflicts he was defeated and compelled to retreat east.

Sept.
4.

Kentucky in a recent election for Members of Congress

CHAP. had shown herself loyal by a majority of 55,000; though
 LVIII. her Governor, MacGoffin, was a secessionist, and so was
 1861. General Buckner, the commander of the State Guards.
 July 1. The latter, treacherously betraying his trust, went over to
 the support of the rebellion. John C. Breckenridge, who
 was in the United States Senate, and so much exercised
 because President Lincoln, as he argued, had violated the
 Constitution in calling out the 75,000 men to enforce the
 laws, threw all his influence in favor of the enemy, thus
 more than usual corrupting the loyalty of the young men of
 the State.

Sept. 3. The Legislature met and passed laws over the Governor's
 veto to furnish money to arm the State against invasion on
 either side, and preserve her neutrality; that phantom soon
 vanished. A hostile force advanced from Tennessee, and
 taking possession fortified two points on the Ohio river—
 Hickman and Chalk Bluffs. On the same day General Zol-
 licoffer, with an army occupied Cumberland Gap, in the
 eastern part of the State, intending thereby to cut off the
 Union men of East Tennessee from aid either from Ken-
 tucky or the Federal army. This concerted movement
 made it plain to the most obtuse that the Confederates, as
 had been their selfish plan, were, in order to save the
 "Cotton States," about to make the Border States the
 battle-field.

General U. S. Grant, who was in command at Cairo,
 Ill., at the mouth of the Ohio, immediately telegraphed the
 fact of the rebel invasion to the Kentucky Legislature,
 then in session. That body at once passed a resolution
 inviting General Robert Anderson, of Sumter memory, to
 enter upon his duties in the "Department of Kentucky,"
 to which he had been assigned by President Lincoln.
 Thus far there were no United States troops stationed in
 the State, and the only soldiers were enlisted Kentuckians.

Sept. 6. Grant did not wait for orders, but at once passed over
 into Kentucky, landing at Paducah; issuing a proclama-
 tion, as was the custom in those days, to the effect that he

had come to protect the people and aid them in driving the hostile invaders from the State.

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General Anderson assumed command, and the Legislature called out "for defense against the invaders" 40,000 men, and by law disfranchised those Kentuckians who had voluntarily joined the enemy if they did not return to their allegiance to the State. The neutrality of Kentucky was at an end.

Sept.
20.

The disaster at Bull Run rendered the people of the free States intensely anxious ; fears were entertained of a rapid advance on Washington itself. That such an advance was not made is due to the opposition of Jefferson Davis, who thought the measure premature. At this crisis the terms of the first men called out were about to expire, and now a call was made for men to serve three years. The new rousing of the patriotism of the loyal North was sublime : regiments came into existence as if raised by magic ; even the sympathizers with the rebellion cowered before the enthusiasm and determination evoked to repel the advance of the insurgents ; yet they continued to the end to disparage every loyal victory and exaggerate every defeat.

Congress was equal to the emergency ; they passed a bill authorising the enlisting of 500,000 men and appropriated 500,000,000 dollars, to carry on the war. They also passed an act confiscating all slaves used by the rebels for military purposes ; all slaves within the Federal lines were to be employed upon the works and paid as day laborers. General Butler had applied the term "Contraband of war" to the slaves escaping from their masters to his army at Fortress Monroe ; although orders had been issued that such runaways should be restored, he delayed to comply with the order. Great care was taken by the National Government to conciliate the slave owners, but without success.

Aug.
2.

Gen. McClellan entered upon his duties with commendable zeal ; Washington was fortified thoroughly, there being no less than *thirty-two* forts constructed at different points

Aug.
1.

CHAP. and garrisoned. But his great work was to bring order out
 LVIII. of disorder, to discipline the numerous new soldiers that
 1861. had crowded by steamboat and railway to the capital.
 Oct. This great work he was fully competent to perform, and it
 15. was as fully accomplished. By the middle of October he
 had 150,000 men under his immediate command. No
 advances were made, except reconnoitering expeditions to
 ascertain the positions of the enemy and their designs.

The Confederates, under General Evans, made a feint
 of evacuating Leesburg, in order to draw some one of these
 reconnoitering parties into an ambushade. General Stone
 was in command in that vicinity. He ordered Colonel
 Baker to cross the Potomac and try the enemy, for it was
 well known that Leesburg was well fortified. The crossing
 was made, but the enemy remained quiet until the Federals
 were within their power. Then occurred a terrific battle
 and slaughter, compared with the numbers engaged—and
 Oct. Ball's Bluff disaster is the saddest of the war. General
 21. Stone sent an order to Colonel Baker warning him of
 danger, as the enemy were reported to be in strong force.
 This order was given to Baker on the battle-field, who
 asked the bearer what it was. The answer was, "All right,
 go ahead." Colonel Baker put the order in his hat without
 reading it, and went "ahead" straight into the trap laid
 for him by the cunning enemy. After the battle the order
 was found in the colonel's hat, stained with his own blood.

Lieutenant-General Scott asked to be placed on the
 retired list, on account of his age and infirmities. This
 request was granted. The President and his Cabinet going
 to the general's quarters to respectfully bid him farewell as
 Oct. commander-in-chief of the armies of the Republic. General
 21. McClellan was appointed to succeed him, and he at once
 assumed command.

A combined naval and land expedition was planned at
 Fortress Monroe, where the veteran General Wool was now
 in command—Butler having been relieved and ordered to
 active duty. A fleet of three frigates, fifty guns each, and

four vessels of smaller size, besides transports and tug-boats to carry the land force. No person knew the destination, except a few of the officers, till the expedition was fully out at sea. The fleet was under Commodore Stringham, and the land forces under General Butler. The object was to capture and hold the two forts—Hatteras and Clark—at the entrance of Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds, in order to break up the contraband trade by which English blockade runners supplied the insurgents with munitions of war, in exchange for tar, turpentine and cotton.

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Fort Hatteras was a very strong battery, nearly surrounded by water; Fort Clark, 700 yards distant, was not as strong. Almost on their arrival the frigates opened on the forts, while the transports landed their men some four miles distant. Hatteras replied with spirit, but wildly, and the Union frigates poured in their solid shot and shell, literally tearing the fort to pieces. Toward evening a storm arose and the vessels were forced to withdraw to the offing; in the morning the weather was clear and the frigates opened again upon Fort Hatteras. Meantime, the land forces occupied Fort Clark, which the enemy had abandoned. At 11 A.M., a white flag was run up on Fort Hatteras; both forts were unconditionally surrendered. More than 600 prisoners were taken, while not a Union soldier was injured. For a number of days the men amused themselves in capturing English blockade runners, who, not having learned of the capture, entered the inlet as usual. The blockade was enforced as much as possible along the coast, with its multitude of inlets and harbors, some of which had one or two entrances.

Aug.
29.

Two months later a similar expedition set out from Fortress Monroe. Commodore Dupont commanded the navy, and General Thomas W. Sherman the land forces. This expedition consisted of seventy-seven vessels, of all classes—steamers and sailers, steam-tugs, and ocean steamers as transports, and fifteen gunboats and one steam frigate, the *Wabash*. Among the great ocean steamers was

CHAP. the *Vanderbilt*, afterward presented to the Government by
LVIII. Cornelius Vanderbilt. These vessels were nearly all volun-
1861. teers—the ship-owners were not behind in their sacrifices
Oct. for the cause. The whole expedition moved from Fortress
29. Monroe; its destination was not generally known till it
arrived off Port Royal, South Carolina, the finest harbor on
the South Atlantic coast. After some unavoidable delays
the gunboats and the *Wabash* were ready for the bombard-
ment of the forts on each side of the channel. The vessels
moved in an ellipse. As they passed up the stream they
Nov. poured in a deadly fire of solid shot and shell on the forts
7. on one side of the channel, then as they returned paid their
respects to the forts on the other side; the most promi-
nent, Hilton Head, was deemed invulnerable. The vessels
thus moving passed in and out of the range of the rebel
guns. The *Wabash* came within six hundred yards of
Hilton Head, while the gunboats of smaller draft came
close in shore and enfiladed the enemy's works. The Con-
federates could not stand the storm, but leaving everything
fled to the woods. The bombardment lasted four hours.
The Federals captured about forty pieces of ordnance,
mostly of the heaviest caliber and of the most approved
patterns, and an immense quantity of ammunition. The
village of Beaufort was occupied. It was made the hospital
headquarters during the war for that section, and a resting-
place for the sick soldiers, weakened so much by the debili-
tating influence of the climate. After the capture of Hilton
Head and the adjacent islands the enemy began to burn the
cotton, lest it should fall into the hands of the Union
soldiers. The whole heavens were lighted up night after
night by the raging fires.

The unanimity with which the people of the free States responded to the calls of the Government, both for men and money, was truly marvelous. From April 15, 1861, when Mr. Lincoln's proclamation was issued, to August 15th, more than 500,000 volunteers had answered to these calls. Of these 375,000 were actually in the field. The

Government, from the first, determined to depend upon the people themselves, not only for soldiers, but for the means to defray the expenses of the war. In strictness there was not a *mercenary* in the Union armies; there were those of foreign birth, but they were either citizens by adoption and oath of allegiance, or had declared, according to law, their intention to become citizens; they received pay for their services, which was just and proper. When the call for money was made, the banks of the principal cities immediately loaned the government fifty million dollars. Then the appeal was made to the people at large, who could subscribe in small sums according to their ability. The rapidity with which this loan was taken proved the earnest loyalty as well as the intelligence of the people of the free States. The interest on this loan was at the rate of seven and three-tenths per cent., or two cents a day on \$100. To raise more revenue a heavy tariff was imposed on foreign merchandise and manufactures. The result was great development in the manufacturing industries of the land, and an abundance of employment given to those of moderate means, whose only capital was their skill and hands. Never before did they move so energetically in their industrial pursuits.

On a dark and stormy night one of the English blockade runners, the steamer *Theodora*, slipped out of Charleston harbor, having on board John M. Mason of Virginia, author of the fugitive slave law of 1850, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as special envoys to Great Britain and France. They were landed at Cardenas, Cuba; thence made their way to Havana, where they went aboard the English mail steamer *Trent*. Captain Charles Wilkes of the United States steam sloop of war *San Jacinto*, and who, when a lieutenant, had commanded a voyage of scientific discovery round the world, overhauled the *Trent* and demanded the envoys, who were delivered up to him. Captain Wilkes called at Fortress Monroe, sent his dispatches to Washington, and then steamed for New York, where he received orders to send the envoys to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor, at which

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place they were delivered. The news of this capture caused unprecedented excitement throughout the land. The people, with the greatest enthusiasm, approved the action of Captain Wilkes. But the absorbing question arose, what will be the result? Captain Wilkes justified himself, showing his authority from writers on international law, but more from English precedent. It was well known that our war with England in 1812 arose in part from the fact that English cruisers assumed the right to board neutral ships on the high seas and search them for articles contraband of war. Wilkes deemed the envoys contraband. The United States Government had always denied the right, and fought to maintain its opposite. The British Government, in courteous terms, due to the influence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who both sympathized with the North in the rebellion, demanded the release of the envoys. They were returned more in accordance with the American idea that it was wrong to seize neutral vessels on the high seas than from precedent derived from British custom. Indeed before the demand came the matter had been amicably arranged between Lord Lyons, the British Minister, and Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State. As Captain Wilkes, who was on his return from a three years' cruise, had arrested these men without orders, the act was disavowed, and no cause of war remained. Meantime great excitement prevailed in England. War preparations were made in great haste, and troops were sent to Canada. The disappointment of the Confederate authorities was almost unbounded. They had hoped it would lead at least to a collision with England, and perhaps to their material aid. King Cotton had already failed them, and now they were to derive no benefit from the capture of the envoys.

The enemy under Bishop Leonidas Polk, who had been made a Major-General, held a strongly fortified position at Columbus, Kentucky; on the other side of the river, at Belmont in Missouri, was a well fortified camp. General Grant, then at Cairo, resolved to break up the latter, as

from there expeditions could be easily sent into Missouri or up or down the river. With about 3,000 men aboard steamers and escorted by the gunboats Tyler and Lexington, the Union soldiers landed four miles above Belmont and at once took up their march toward the encampment. In about a mile they fell in with the enemy and drove them "foot by foot and from tree to tree back to their encampment on the river's bank, a distance of over two miles;" as they drew near, suddenly was heard firing and cheers on the rear of the enemy. The Illinoisians, under Colonel Napoleon B. Buford, had made a detour rapidly and were now closing in; a combined movement was made upon three sides of the enemy's works, which were soon in possession of the Union forces; "The rebels passing over the river bank and into their transports in quick time." The object was accomplished; Grant destroyed all the munitions and property of the camp, and then fell back to his transports. Meantime Polk had sent troops to attack the Federals on their way back but without success. Bishop Polk reported; "It was a hard fought battle lasting from half past ten A.M. to five P.M.;" he judged Grant's force to be 7,000 strong. The Federals lost 84 killed and 288 wounded; the enemy's loss was never accurately known.

The enemy had taken possession of Cumberland Gap to prevent the Unionists of East Tennessee from being aided by United States troops. The Union men of that section displayed the most heroic patriotism of any portion of the country; and the Confederate authorities thought it of the highest importance to prevent that section being occupied by Union forces, lest they should cut in twain "The Empire of the South." General William T. Sherman, who had succeeded Anderson in Kentucky, was of the same opinion, but the authorities at Washington seemed to think otherwise. If that point had been occupied in force, communication with Cincinnati and the North could have been kept open. The persecutions and outrages inflicted upon the

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CHAP. LVIII. Union men were fiercer in East Tennessee than in any portion East of the Mississippi.

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General Buell assumed command in Kentucky, and he withdrew the Union troops from the eastern portion of the State as a large rebel force was reported to be in the vicinity of Bowling Green, an important and strategic point, and that their intention was to move North and capture Louisville, and a strenuous effort must be made to drive them from the State. The Union men of the State turned out nobly in aid of the cause more than 18,000 who never flinched in battle; and yet the State had furnished many thousands of misguided young men to the very army which was now invading and foraging in their native State. In the eastern portion of the State a series of skirmishes had taken place in which the enemy, often worsted, were driven from point to point, but finally they concentrated under General Zollicoffer, and made an attack on the Union forces under General Thomas at Logan's farm—this battle is known as that of Mill Spring, though that was eight miles distant.

Jan.
17.

General Thomas had made his arrangements to attack the Confederates in their intrenchments; but they themselves had thought to attack Thomas in a similar manner. They, accordingly, left their entrenchments after dark on a Saturday night, and the next morning at seven o'clock drove in the Federal pickets. Word was speedily given that the enemy were in force, and in less than half an hour the Union soldiers were in line of battle, a detachment, meanwhile, holding the foe in check. The conflict was severe, and the lines wavered back and forth for hours. The Confederates had protected themselves by an extemporized bulwark of fence rails and a barn. Between them and the woods where the Federal soldiers were, was an open field. Colonel McCook determined to capture these defenses, and he ordered the Ninth Ohio, Germans, to fix bayonets; then moving along the front, he shouted, "My invincible Germans, charge!" A moment afterward the whole regiment was in the open field, and with shouts rushed upon the

enemy, who lingered for a moment as if bewildered, and then fled. The Union troops with cheers advanced the whole line, and their defeat was complete; nor did they stop till they reached their entrenchments, eight miles distant. The Union forces pushed on, and late in the afternoon commenced a sharp cannonade. Night came on, and Thomas made preparation to assault in the morning. At daylight the ramparts were scaled, but not a man was to be seen. The night before the enemy had fled silently, leaving everything in their camp, lest the noise of destroying their munitions should betray their design. Their commander, General Zollicoffer, had been killed, and they were completely demoralized and abandoned all their fortifications in that region.

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The way was now open to occupy Cumberland and Pound Gaps, and an entrance into East Tennessee, so much dreaded by the Confederate authorities; but General Thomas was ordered to cooperate with the Federal advance toward Bowling Green and Nashville.

Jefferson Davis sent in a special message to the Confederate Congress. This document was evidently designed to produce a certain effect, especially in England and France, to whose courts he had just sent the two envoys. Every conflict thus far had resulted in a glorious victory for the rebels; not a word was said of the progress of the Federal cause in Missouri, Kentucky, and West Virginia; not a word of the capture of Hatteras, or Hilton Head, or Beaufort. The cotton-spinners of England were kindly admonished that the blockade might diminish the supply of that article. He proclaimed that the financial system adopted had worked well, when the general impression was that "their National Loan and the Cotton and Produce Loan" were failures.

Nov.
18.

The question of the slave came more directly than usual before Congress on its assembling. A change was in progress among thinking minds in the free States in respect to his position in this contest. He was used by the nation's

Dec.
2.

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1862. enemies to build fortifications, to raise corn and cotton, to support and protect the families of those who were in the armies of the rebellion. He had been happily characterized as a "contraband" of war; yet commanders in the field had usually treated him as a slave, and in some instances, when a fugitive in the Union army, he had been restored to his master when the latter was disloyal. The annual report of the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, favored negro emancipation, and remuneration to the loyal slave owners.

The same report stated that the total number in the army was: infantry, 568,383; cavalry, 59,398; artillery, 24,686; rifles and sharpshooters, 8,395; engineers, 107. In the aggregate, 660,971, of which 20,334 were of the regular army. The rebel army numbered about 350,000 men. There is no data for an accurate estimate, as they usually exaggerated their numbers before a battle and depreciated them afterward.

Around Washington an army of about 200,000 was drilling during the summer and the entire autumn, and no doubt was as well disciplined as any such body of men could be. The people became impatient that this numerous and well appointed army should lie idle so long; and the soldiers themselves became equally impatient. The roads were in perfect order for an advance on the enemy, and the weather all that could be wished. The enemy were almost in sight, flaunting their flags and holding their entrenchments, while their newspapers sneered at the want of energy in the Union commander. In other portions of the country the Union generals made advances and were successful in West Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky, but "All is quiet on the Potomac" had passed into a proverb. The enemy went deliberately into winter quarters in the vicinity of Centreville and along the upper Potomac. The people began to feel there was something mysterious in this delay.

Jan. 15. The President appointed Edwin M. Stanton Secretary of War in place of Mr. Cameron, resigned. The new Secretary, by his untiring energy and intense loyalty, was most

efficient in promoting the Union cause ; stern and inflexible in character, obedient only to the dictates of duty.

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It was planned, when the stage of water in the Tennessee and the Cumberland would admit of the free passage of the gunboats, to penetrate the Confederacy along these rivers, and thus turn the strongholds of the enemy at Columbus, on the Mississippi, and at Bowling Green, in Southern Kentucky. Captain A. H. Foote had been detailed from the United States Navy to command the western flotilla of gunboats. These boats were of somewhat different construction from the ocean-going, being flat-bottomed and not plated so heavily ; indeed some of them, from the lightness of their armor, were jocosely styled “ tin-clads.” Grant had about 30,000 men gathered at Cairo, Paducah and Bird’s Point. Reconnoissances, which had sorely distracted the enemy, both by land and water, ascertained the positions of their forces.

At length the expedition was ready to move ; ten regiments, with their artillery and cavalry, embarked on transports at Cairo. The steamers headed up stream to Paducah, at the mouth of the Tennessee, and up that river. The Confederates now learned that Fort Henry was to be attacked. Captain Foote, with his gunboats, bore the steamers company. Four miles below the fort the troops under General McClelland disembarked, Foote meanwhile shelling the woods in search of the enemy. The following day transports brought more troops and General Grant.

Feb.
2.

Captain Foote wished the attack to be deferred for a day, so that the fort could be so invested as to secure the prisoners, assuming that he himself could subdue the fort before the troops could get in position. The gunboats had not yet been tried, and both Grant and his officers evidently did not have the faith in them that the captain had. Prompt at the hour, 11 A. M., General McClelland moved to throw his division on the road leading from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Captain Foote also

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moved at the same time, and passing up on the west side of an island, and, the water being high, over obstructions put in the channel, suddenly came into the river near the fort. The gunboats took their position and began to throw shots and shells, and approached nearer and nearer; so terrible was the storm that the earthworks crumbled away and nearly one half of the fort's guns were dismounted, and the infantry supports of the artillery fled, the insurgent flag was hauled down and the fort surrendered unconditionally. Only 130 prisoners were secured, the remainder escaped, as the Union forces were not yet in position to capture them, for, true to his word, Foote had subdued the fort in one hour and fifteen minutes. The astonishment at the success of the gunboats was as great among the army and its officers as the wholesome dread with which they inspired the Confederates. Unfortunately the boiler of the Essex gunboat was struck by a cannon ball, and the issuing steam scalded twenty-four of the men and killed four instantly, otherwise the boats were scarcely injured.

The captain sent gunboats in pursuit of the steamers, which they overtook and destroyed, and also transports laden with supplies for the enemy. They ascended to Florence, Ala., making clean work of all war material on the river. The Union gunboats, at almost every point, were welcomed by the people. Captain Foote returned on the evening of the battle to Cairo, to repair damages to the boats and prepare for the expedition against Fort Donelson on the west bank of the Cumberland, twelve miles east of Fort Henry. The Confederates deemed it of the greatest importance to hold this place. Thither General A. Sidney Johnston had sent troops under John B. Floyd and Buckner, the former having chief command.

The main fort stood on a gradually rising hill; the top, or plateau, contained about one hundred acres. The crest of this plateau was encircled by rifle pits, and artillery commanded every approach, and it was deemed impregnable by

the enemy. West and south of the fort were hills densely wooded and filled with ravines. CHAP.
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Grant moved from Fort Henry and invested Donelson on the afternoon of the same day. The next day were fierce artillery duels; sharpshooters on both sides were busy; desperate sorties by the enemy were repulsed; and an equally desperate attempt to capture a battery that annoyed the Union army was made by McClernand's order, but after a heroic effort failed. 1862.
Feb.
13.

The next morning Captain Foote came up with six gunboats, and at 2 P. M. commenced the bombardment of the fort. The boats came within 350 yards of the water battery. For more than an hour the battle raged. Only two of the enemy's guns were able to reply, when a chance shot cut the tiller chain of the Louisville. The boat veered round and exposed her side, and another such shot broke the rudder post, and she was carried helplessly down the current. Encouraged by this mishap, the enemy directed all their fire on the St. Louis, the flag boat, a heavy battery on the hill joining in. The St. Louis was soon as helpless as the Louisville, one of her side wheels being broken by a solid shot, and she too floated down the stream after having been struck fifty-nine times. Feb.
14.

An assault had been intended all along the enemy's line when the fleet had silenced the guns in the water forts. After the result was known General Grant consulted with Foote, and it was deemed best to repair the gunboats and wait for the mortar floats, that were not in readiness when Foote left Cairo at the peremptory command of Halleck.

Meantime the enemy became alarmed lest they should be so hemmed in that they could not escape, and they resolved to cut their way out by dislodging their besiegers. Accordingly at dawn of day the next morning they moved out in three divisions, intending to converge to one point of attack on the Federal right next the river; but they unexpectedly found the Union army prepared in front of their own earthworks, and before they were formed in line Feb.
15.

CHAP. of battle they were attacked and held in check, but only
LVIII. to make another attempt, and thus on the south side of the
1862. fort the conflict waged for five hours. Regiment after
regiment of these inexperienced Union soldiers took their
places and remained till their ammunition was exhausted,
and they were relieved by fresh troops. Many of these
when their cartridges failed begged to be led in a bayonet
charge against the enemy. Such was the spirit of this
whole army. The battle for the most part was fought in a
forest with a dense undergrowth, which much impeded
rapid movements. The Confederates thus far had made
desperate aggressive attempts. Now Grant, who had been
absent holding a consultation with Captain Foote, in turn
determined to assault their lines, and he ordered the
Federals, about one P.M., to carry the enemy's position
by assault. This was most handsomely done, the enemy
being driven at the point of the bayonet to their inner
works. On the Federal right a similar assault was made,
with the same result. The Union army held all their
advanced positions during the night, and were preparing
to renew the attack in the morning. This gloomy night
was passed in bringing within the Union lines the wound-
ed, scattered over a space of two miles and a half. The
Union soldiers and the Confederates fared alike, being cared
for with equal kindness.

There was evidently commotion in the enemy's camp. In
the morning, when the Union lines advanced at daylight to
the assault, numerous muskets were held up along their
ramparts displaying white flags. The advance halted, and
General Buckner desired to negotiate. He was left in
command; Floyd and Pillow had slipped off up the river
with some of their followers on board a transport, and left
Buckner to bear the stigma of surrendering. He wished
for an armistice and terms of capitulation. General Grant
refused the request, and replied, "No terms except uncon-
ditional and immediate surrender can be accepted; I pur-
pose to move immediately on your works." Buckner at

once surrendered. The number of prisoners was nearly 14,000, and their killed and wounded 1,300; and all the guns and military stores, an immense amount. This victory sent dismay into the Confederacy, while the rejoicings in the loyal States were great. The activity and energy of the Western undrilled armies were contrasted with the inactivity and discipline that reigned around Washington.

Immediately after this capture the enemy evacuated Bowling Green and moved toward Nashville, which place they merely passed through, destroying, in their haste, both the railway and suspension bridges over the Cumberland—an unnecessary destruction of property, as their ruin scarcely impeded the Union army. The Legislature with the Governor left in haste. The beautiful city was occupied by Federal forces and order restored. That stronghold Columbus, on the Mississippi, was also evacuated on the receipt of the news of the fall of Fort Donelson.

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CHAPTER LIX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Burnside's Expedition to North Carolina—Capture of Newbern—Battle of Pea Ridge—Capture of New Madrid and Island No 10--Battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh—Capture of New Orleans—Death of Admiral Foote—Battle of river iron clads—Capture of Memphis—Evacuation of Corinth—Plans of movements on Richmond—The Merrimac and Monitor duel.

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ON the Atlantic coast a naval and land expedition under Commander Goldsboro and General A. E. Burnside was fitted out, against Roanoke Island—the scene of Sir Walter Raleigh's colony¹—and to make a demonstration on the coast of North Carolina, to encourage the Union men, and also create a diversion south of Richmond and Norfolk.

Feb. 8. In approaching Albemarle Sound the rebel fleet and an earthwork known as Fort Barton were encountered ; the enemy's fleet soon retired out of harm's way, and Goldsboro opened upon the fort, but was not able to reduce it after a bombardment of some hours. During the night the troops landed, and in the morning, under General Foster, moved to the attack over a swampy and difficult way. On the march they came upon a battery, protected by a swamp on either side ; Foster flanked the battery right and left, and when the Union soldiers came out upon their rear flanks, the enemy threw down their arms and fled. This success was

¹ Hist. pp. 72-74.

followed up and their entire force—about 3,000—on the island of Roanoke was captured.

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Burnside issued the usual proclamation, promising protection to those engaged in their usual avocations and enjoining the Union soldiers not to injure private property on their march. Roanoke Island became the base of operations; and from it were sent out many expeditions which essentially interfered with the English blockade runners by seizing harbors and filling channels of approach.

The most important capture of Newbern on the Neuse was accomplished by a combined land and naval force. The troops landed 17 miles below the town, and marched up the road along the river bank and a railway track from Beaufort, the gunboats by their shells keeping the enemy at a respectful distance. About three miles below the town was found a formidable fieldwork, which promised to offer much resistance. This fortification was flanked by a swamp and Burnside sent a detachment round, while he pressed the enemy in front; the detachment appeared on the flank, but the Confederates held their ground until a Rhode Island regiment, on the run, charged bayonet and changed the tide of battle; other Union troops pressed on and the rout was complete. A portion of the fleeing enemy reached a train of cars and carried the news of defeat to Newbern. There, as was their custom, they began to burn a bridge and all the rosin and turpentine, and the steamers at the wharf, two of which were saved by the United States gunboats. The enemy had wantonly set the town on fire, but the citizens with aid from the United States Marines succeeded in putting it out, though not until the best Hotel and the Court House and many private residences were consumed. General Foster was installed as Military Governor in Newbern.

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Other places in the vicinity were captured, such as Beaufort and Washington, on Pamlico River. Fort Macon, a strong fortification built by the United States Government to protect the harbor of Beaufort, was reduced after a bom-

CHAP. bardment of eleven hours. This secured the blockading
LIX. fleet one of the finest and safest harbors on the coast.

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Major-General S. R. Curtis was directed by General Halleck to drive Generals Price and Rains and their bands out of Missouri into Arkansas. Curtis was soon on the march toward Springfield, where Price and his band had been for some time. The latter took the alarm and hastily retreated South, Curtis pursuing and the enemy retreating, till at length they reached the Boston Mountains. Curtis learned that they were concentrating against him under General Van Dorn, whose army numbered about 34,000 men; of these Ben McCullough had 13,000—out-numbering the Union army more than four to one. These made attacks on the various Federal divisions as they came up, but were always repulsed. At length they concentrated at Pea Ridge in Arkansas, and the enemy advanced to give battle, which raged all day on the Federal right with scarcely a cessation. The ground was hilly and covered with thick underbrush and broken up by ravines. On the left wing the contest was equally stubborn, but more varied in result. Ben McCullough made a desperate assault upon Colonel Oosterhaus, of Sigel's division, but Curtis ordered up Davis's troops to the Colonel's aid, and the combined force drove the enemy headlong from the field, they leaving dead their commanding generals, McIntosh and Ben McCullough—the latter the master-spirit of their army. Success had also crowned the left wing. During the night both armies lay on their arms; the Union soldiers resting for the first time in two days' marching and sleepless nights.

Mar.
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At sunrise the battle was renewed, and raged most of the day along the whole line, nearly three miles; Sigel handling his artillery with wonderful rapidity and effect. Every attempt to break the Union line was foiled. For more than two hours this continued, when Sigel began to advance his part of the line; the enemy sought shelter in the woods, but the Federals charged through their shelter and drove them with the bayonet to an open field beyond,

when they broke and fled in all directions. Thus ended the two days' fight at Pea Ridge. Never before had the enemy suffered so disastrous a defeat. Soon after those who had not deserted were transferred to the army of General S. A. Johnston, again to meet the Union soldiers under General Grant.

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The National Government never lost sight of the importance of the control of the Mississippi river, and to that end Admiral Foote directed his attention in connection with a land force under General Pope. The enemy made the most strenuous exertions to retain their hold of the great river as a most important source of supplies, both beyond it and on its tributaries.

The islands in the Mississippi from the mouth of the Ohio downward are designated by numbers. The Confederates chose available points on the river to fortify, such as New Madrid in Missouri, opposite Island No. 10, Tiptonville in Kentucky, and No. 10 itself—all three within supporting distance. To this island they had directed special attention, Beauregard, their best engineer, superintending the works and pronouncing them impregnable. In consequence here were collected vast military stores and provisions as for a long siege.

Admiral Foote was to bombard No. 10, and at the same time Pope to capture New Madrid. The latter found the town fortified by earthworks and defended by three gunboats, which, because of the high water in the river, were able to sweep its banks, and in the face of these guns it would be impossible to hold the town if captured. He therefore sent to Cairo for siege guns—24 pounders. These soon came, and during the night time were placed in position within 800 yards of the enemy's main fortification, and in the morning opened upon the astonished enemy, every shot telling with fine effect, dismounting several of their heaviest guns. The shot also reached their gunboats and steamers in the river, compelling them to hasten out of range. A night of storm and rain came on, and in the

Mar.
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CHAP. morning, just as the guns were about to reopen, a white flag
 LIX. was seen approaching. The messenger brought word that
 1862. the enemy had evacuated the fort, abandoning everything,
 Mar. and the town authorities wished to surrender.
 14.

Immediately after the surrender General Pope prepared to coöperate with Admiral Foote in the reduction of No. 10. The latter came down with his gun-boats and mortar-floats, and for twenty-two days bombarded the island, but without effecting any great break in the works. The whole west shore of the river opposite the island was under water from the spring freshets, and Pope had no transports to carry his men to the east side of the river, and they could not pass the batteries on No. 10. Pope determined, at the suggestion of General Hamilton, to cut a canal across the peninsula, in the rear of New Madrid, to the river below, and pass through this the transports. By an ingenious apparatus the trees were sawed off four and a half feet below the surface of the overflowing water, and thus a passage was made for the transports which at once passed through. This unique canal was twelve miles long and fifty feet wide. On the evening of the day on which this canal was finished, the gunboat *Carondelet*, in the midst of a thunderstorm, ran past the batteries on No. 10, and two nights after the gunboat *Pittsburg* performed the same feat. These boats soon silenced the rebel batteries along the river below, and by midnight of the same day Pope's army was across the river and pushing for Tiptonville to intercept the enemy fleeing from No. 10, which place, it was rumored, they were evacuating. Early the next morning No. 10 surrendered to Admiral Foote "17 officers, 363 soldiers, 70 heavy cannon, ranging from 32 to 100 pounders, the latter rifled, and an immense amount of other military stores, four steamers and a floating battery." Meanwhile Pope had intercepted the retreating foe, who laid down their arms, surrendering unconditionally as prisoners of war, in all nearly 7,000. A few days before the surrender Beauregard left No. 10. This defeat and loss was a source of great mortification to the

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Confederate authorities, and was equally a gratification to the loyal people of the free States.

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General Grant and his army left Nashville and marched for the Tennessee River, which they reached, about 240 miles from its mouth, at an obscure place of three or four houses, known as Pittsburg Landing, but now famous in the annals of the war.

General Buell soon after began the march with his Division for the same place. The ultimate point sought was Corinth, a strategic position in Northern Mississippi on the Memphis and Charleston railway. For two months the enemy had been concentrating here, and fortifying the hills in the immediate vicinity, General A. S. Johnston first in command, and Beauregard second. The most strenuous efforts were made to resist the Union army; Manassas and Centreville were evacuated—McClellan by his inactivity permitting it—and their lines drawn more closely around Richmond; in order to spare troops for this emergency; General Bragg was ordered from Pensacola with his well-drilled artillery and infantry; Columbus was evacuated and under General-Bishop Polk the garrison marched to the same point; and from Arkansas, late from Pea Ridge, came General Van Dorn, bringing 15,000 men. The enemy advanced from their stronghold to meet Grant's army at the crossing, and if possible crush him before Buell could bring up his forces. The Union army had crossed over and was stationed in a semi-circle, the center in the front of the road to Corinth, the left extending round to the river at Hamburg, four miles distant. The Shiloh meeting-house stood directly out in the country, two and a half miles from the landing; around this church was the principal conflict, hence the Confederates name the battle Shiloh. The country west of the landing is rough, and covered with a dense forest of scrub-oak and black jack, with here and there an open field. The enemy skirmished more or less for two days, no doubt to ascertain the Federal position.

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Early Sunday morning they drove in the advanced

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Federal pickets. The entire division flew to arms and awaited the enemy's advance. After an hour's waiting they came on, attacking the center; and, extending their line by an oblique movement, threw an overwhelming force upon the left, driving the Federals back and capturing General Prentiss and his regiment almost entire. They pressed on, turning to the left, but were held in check by three Illinois regiments till they were overpowered and forced to retire, losing three guns. General W. T. Sherman still held his first line at the meeting-house until the enemy passed round to his rear, when he fell back and took a new position. "My division," he says, "was made up of regiments perfectly new, nearly all having recently received their muskets." Great numbers of these frightened men found their way back to the river, two miles distant, and no efforts of their officers could induce them to return. The enemy by main force drove the Union left through their camp toward the river, but were at length held at bay for four hours by the pluck of General McClelland and his troops. The Confederates had planned not to attack but in overpowering numbers; thus when they attacked the center they deployed their main force against the left. They well knew that, if at all, they must crush this advanced Union force before Buell could come up, or troops under Generals Nelson and Thomas could reach the field of battle. At five P.M. was a brief lull in the firing. The enemy fell back, and then suddenly, as if to take the Federals by surprise, threw forward their whole force for the second time, with such fierceness and desperation that the Union army was compelled to fall back. Just then the gunboats Lexington and Tyler came up the river. They soon learned by a messenger from General Grant the position of the enemy. The boats took their station and sent in with great rapidity their shot and shell, the latter bursting amid the ranks of the Confederates. "The shells hurling death and destruction through the scrub-oak jungles under whose cover the enemy fought securely." In

less than thirty minutes they had silenced the rebel batteries. Just before the boats opened fire Buell's advanced division appeared on the Union right, and they successfully resisted the last charge of the enemy that day. This was nearly a great victory. They had the advantage of superior numbers; on the morrow that would be changed. General A. Sidney Johnston, their commander-in-chief, was among the slain.

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The Union army in this battle numbered about 38,000, while the enemy had 45,000, under their best generals—A. S. Johnston, Beauregard, Bishop Polk, and Hardee—and the best fighting material they had in the field; but in endurance and cool, determined courage the Northern soldiers were superior, though the Southern had the more dash.

Reinforcements for the Union army began to arrive on the evening of the battle. The remainder of Buell's forces; Nelson and Crittenden's divisions, some on foot and some on steamers; two batteries of the regular army, and McCook's division, by a forced march, reached the landing early the following morning.

It was General Grant's turn now to take the offensive, and a general advance was ordered to begin at 5 o'clock the next morning. The hostile pickets were driven in and the battle became general along the whole line. At 10 A. M. the Union army was moving forward and forcing the enemy step by step from point to point, and though occasionally checked, the Union army moved steadily forward; their fire was regular as clock-work, and the divisions sustained each other admirably. At length the enemy, after repeated attempts to break through the Union lines and failing, seemed to despair of succeeding. For seven long hours they had fought valiantly. Beauregard made the most strenuous exertions and exposed himself in his efforts to prevent his army falling back toward Corinth. The pursuit was not pressed vigorously owing to the intervening woods, which impeded the movements of cavalry, and the infantry

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CHAP. only pursued the retreating foe for a mile or two. The
 LIX. enemy fell back to their entrenchments at Corinth, and
 1862. Beauregard proclaimed a great Confederate victory; that was for the public, but his private dispatch to Jefferson Davis, captured at Huntsville by General O. M. Mitchel, told the true story, calling for reinforcements, and saying: "If defeated here we lose the Mississippi Valley and probably our cause."

The Union loss in killed, 1,785; wounded, 7,883; the rebel, killed, 1,728, and wounded, 8,012. The enemy, for the most part, were better protected by the dense woods, as they fought on ground of their own choosing.

While these stirring events were enacting in the West a combined expedition was fitting out against New Orleans in the East, General B. F. Butler to command the land forces and Admiral D. S. Farragut the naval. Through the influence of Butler the men for the enterprise were principally enlisted in New England. The rendezvous for the troops was Ship Island, lying in the waters of the Gulf midway between Mobile and New Orleans, by way of Lake Pontchartrain, thus threatening either place. A powerful fleet of mortar boats had been fitted out at the Brooklyn Navy Yard under the direction of Captain David D. Porter. This flotilla joined the fleet off the mouth passes of the Mississippi. Mar. 16. Admiral Farragut commanded the whole armament, and Porter, under him, had control of the mortar boats. The whole fleet and transports soon passed within the passes, and gunboats acted as pickets up the river to give notice of the approach of certain iron-clads and rams and fire rafts—huge barges laden with split pine over which had been poured melted pitch, rendering them highly inflammable. One of these rams, the *Manassas*, carried English rifled guns. They also had an iron-clad floating battery, the *Louisiana*, besides 18 armed steamers, some of which were protected by an armor of iron. Their naval commander, Hollins, announced that with these he would annihilate the Union fleet. An exceedingly strong chain was stretched on floats

Apr. 4.

across the channel from Fort Jackson to the opposite shore, near to Fort St. Philip. This chain was commanded by the guns of the forts. These forts—75 miles below the city—were very strong structures built by the United States Government. Fort Jackson had 120 guns and St. Philip nearly as many. In addition, the enemy had flanking batteries commanding the river for three miles, and also the approach from Lake Pontchartrain.

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Arrangements completed, the Union squadron moved to the attack. Then occurred one of the most terrible cannon battles on record. Fourteen mortar-boats, throwing immense shells from the west shore, and six others on the eastern bank of the river in the swamp passages, and so covered by green bushes as to be well masked, six ships of war, and gunboats up and down the stream took part in the thunderous fray, while the forts replied with great vigor. The bombardment lasted all day; the guns in the embrasures of Fort Jackson were silenced, and also the last one on the side of St. Philip. Meanwhile Hollins sent down fire-rafts in the midst of the battle, but they did but little harm, as they were all destroyed by balls from the guns or seized by grappling irons prepared for the purpose and towed where they could harmlessly burn. At night a deserter came aboard and informed Porter of the condition of the forts. From his statement it was evident they could not be reduced for several days. This information determined Farragut to run past the forts, and orders were given to prepare for the hazardous attempt. Meantime the mortar-boats continued to throw shells into the forts.

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That night two parties in boats passed up and cut the chain without being discovered, and also a boat with muffled oars passed above the forts and took soundings, finding the channel free of obstructions. This, even, the enemy did not discover, though they had large fires burning all night along the shore to prevent surprises.

Orders were passed that night from ship to ship to prepare to run the gauntlet, and at 2 o'clock in the morning

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CHAP. the fleet was under way. The darkness was so great that
LIX. the sentinels at the fort did not discover the movement
1862. until the first division approached the chain, in a minute
more, and both the forts opened. This was the signal for
Porter, who, with his mortars, threw a shower of bursting
shells inside the forts, which interfered materially with
their firing; the vessels as they passed by poured in their
broadside. As they passed beyond the forts they found
themselves in the midst of hostile iron-clads and rams; the
latter butting in every direction. The Union gunboats,
generally, were able to dodge them, and in turn pay them
the compliment of a broadside. The *Cayuga*, a swift
vessel, passing through compelled three steamers to strike
their flags. The ram *Manassas* was running round butting
at anything in the smoke and darkness; finally, she ran
foul of the *Brooklyn*, which gave her a broadside with her
heavy guns, and the ram disappeared in the darkness.
Only one vessel was lost, the *Varuna*, Captain Boggs. The
career of this vessel deserves relating. The captain finding
himself "in a nest of rebel steamers" started forward, giv-
ing broadsides right and left; the first went into a steamer
crowded with troops, exploded her boilers and she drifted
ashore; afterward three other vessels were driven ashore in
flames and blown up. Then the *Varuna* was attacked by
an iron-clad ram, which raked her and butted her on the
quarter, but she managed, meantime, to plant three 8-inch
shells in the armor of her foe, and a rifle shot, when the
ram dropped out of action. At this moment another
large iron-clad, with a prow under water, struck the
Varuna in the port gangway, doing considerable damage;
then her enemy drew off and made another plunge and
struck again in the same place, crushing in her sides; now
the *Varuna* gave her antagonist five 8-inch shells; these
settled her, and she floated ashore in flames. The *Varuna*
herself was in a sinking condition; but her men were taken
off by boats from the other vessels before she went down.
All along the river bank were stranded rebel steamers and

rams, nearly all on fire from Union shots and shells; two or three steamers and the iron-clad battery *Louisiana* had escaped, and sought protection under the guns of Fort Jackson; two or three hundred prisoners were taken.

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The next day Farragut was ready to move, and the following morning the fleet steamed up the river, and after being delayed one-half hour to silence some batteries, he reached New Orleans in the afternoon, and demanded its surrender, which was complied with by the mayor. General Lovel, who was in command, before leaving the city had fired the long line of ships, steamers and flat-boats, and vast stores of cotton, tobacco and sugar—a most wanton destruction of private property, not all contraband of war. The United States public buildings were taken possession of by Union soldiers to protect them. The forts Jackson and St. Philip also capitulated when the fall of New Orleans was known. General Butler arrived and entered upon his duties as commandant of the city and vicinity. The city was garrisoned immediately—the troops marching in to the tune of “Yankee Doodle,” and order restored under the skillful and energetic rule of Butler. He prepared his proclamation and sent it to the various papers to be published. They all refused. A sufficient number of practical printers volunteered from the ranks, took possession of one of the offices, and issued the proclamation. This incident was similar to many others that occurred during this war showing the intelligence and industrial skill of the soldiers of the Union armies.

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Farragut sent the gunboat *Iroquois*, Captain Palmer, up the river to the capital of the State, Baton Rouge, which surrendered on demand; then to Natchez, Mississippi, which place surrendered; and then to Vicksburg, which was found to be fortified and garrisoned, and she refused to run up the Stars and Stripes. Her time came in due season.

May
12.

During this time Admiral Foote and General Pope were working their way down the Mississippi, capturing fortified places one after another; delayed a few days at Fort Wright,

CHAP. Chickasaw Bluffs. Here Pope was ordered to join Halleck
LIX. at Corinth ; and Admiral Foote, at the imperative orders
1862. of his physician, also retired from the service on account of
Apr. wounds received in the attack on Fort Donelson. A few
12. weeks later he died, a victim of patriotic ardor, and cheerful
in the Christian's hope.

May Captain J. E. Davis succeeded Admiral Foote ; a few
10. days after, he defeated a rebel fleet of iron-clads and armed
steamers under Captain Montgomery, in a conflict of thirty
minutes ; Forts Wright and Pillow were abandoned by the
June enemy ; this opened the way down toward Memphis. The
4. Union fleet was joined by Captain Ellet's rams of unique
construction ; made out of powerful tug-boats. The whole
fleet passed down to island No. 45, two miles above Mem-
phis, off which place lay the Confederate iron-clads. At four
A.M., Captain Davis steamed down to find the enemy's fleet
June on the alert. The battle began at long range, but Ellet's
6. two rams, the *Queen of the West* and the *Monarch*, passed
rapidly by the Union gunboats, and rushed with great im-
petuosity into the midst of the rebel boats, firing heavy
shots right and left, and when opportunity served plying
the enemy with hot water by means of a hose of peculiar
construction. Then came on the gunboats, and the result
of this singular contest was that only one of the ten gun-
boats of the Confederates escaped—they either being sunk
or blown up. In consequence of this destruction of their
whole fleet Memphis surrendered unconditionally.

The Confederates deemed Corinth an important strategic
point, being at the junction of the Memphis and Charleston
and Mobile and Ohio railways, but that importance was
gone as soon as the roads were cut and Memphis in the
hands of the Union forces. General Halleck assumed com-
mand after the battle of Pittsburg Landing, and advanced
into the vicinity of Corinth and commenced digging paral-
lels and making approaches. Thus he spent six weeks.
The enemy in the meantime, were leisurely carrying away
May their war material, and when this was done they evacuated
30.

their stronghold, while Halleck kept 120,000 men within striking distance until they were well on their way. General Pope was sent in pursuit, but captured only about 2,000 prisoners. This was the only instance, thus far, of undue tardiness in a Western army. The enemy had 47,000 men.

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We have seen the Union soldiers in the West gaining battle after battle, and in no instance failing to accomplish their ultimate object. They met the enemy in superior numbers at Pea Ridge and drove them out of Missouri, they captured Forts Henry and Donelson, and opened up the Tennessee and the Cumberland rivers, compelling the evacuation of that stronghold, Columbus; won the battle of Shiloh, and compelled the enemy to retire to Corinth, which in turn they were made to abandon. Along the South Atlantic coast battles had been fought, and place after place had been captured and held; an expedition against New Orleans had been eminently successful, and now, after many conflicts, the whole of the Mississippi was held from above to down below Memphis, and from its mouth up to Vicksburg. While these advances were progressing, the Army of the Potomac was chafing at their imposed inactivity, and drilling in entrenchments around the National Capital.

General McClellan had asked for men till his numbers had gradually increased in February to 222,196 names on his roll, of whom 193,142 were fit for duty. In the previous August, in a note to President Lincoln, he says: "I propose with this force to move into the heart of the enemy's country, and crush the rebellion in its very heart." Yet no movement was made. Time passed on, and McClellan did not intimate to the anxious President or Secretary of War that he had any plans of a campaign. Several conferences were held by the President and some members of his Cabinet, at one of which the President asked the Commander-in-Chief what he intended to do with his army. After a long pause, he remarked he "was very unwilling to develop his plans, but would do so if ordered." The Presi-

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dent asked if he had fixed any time in his own mind when he would move the army. The reply was, he had. "On that," rejoined the President, "I will adjourn this meeting." Yet McClellan for weeks gave no intimation of moving. At length the President felt it his duty to order a general advance of the Union armies on the 22d of February. It is a coincidence that on this day Jefferson Davis was inaugurated at Richmond President of the Confederacy for six years, and Alexander H. Stephens Vice-President. Perhaps the President in designating this day had in mind that it was the anniversary of the birth of Washington.

Feb.
 22.

Previous to this President Lincoln addressed a note to McClellan, saying, "Your plan is by the Chesapeake, up the Rappahannock to Urbana on the York; mine to move directly to a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas. If you will give satisfactory answers to the following questions I shall gladly yield my plan to yours: Does not your plan involve a greatly larger expenditure of *time* and *money* than *mine*? Wherein is a victory *more valuable* by your plan than by mine? In fact, would it not be *less valuable* in this, that it would break no great line of the enemy's communications, while mine would? In case of disaster, would not a retreat be *more difficult* by your plan than mine?" No direct reply was made to these questions, though a report of the same date by the General-in-Chief was claimed to answer. The plan of the President and his advisers was virtually the one selected by General Grant when he advanced on Richmond.

When the Norfolk navy-yard was destroyed and fell into the hands of the enemy, the *Merrimac* steam frigate was partially burned and sunk, but was afterward raised by the enemy and made over as an iron-clad of tremendous power. From hints thrown out by their newspapers this mysterious monster became a source of great dread to the fleet in and around the lower Chesapeake and Hampton Roads.

Meanwhile Captain Ericsson was building at New York

a unique iron-clad on a new principle, his own invention. CHAP.
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This was a revolving turret, made entirely of successive layers of wrought iron plates to the thickness of eleven inches. This turret was turned at will by steam; within it were two rifled guns throwing each an elongated shot weighing 175 pounds, and loaded by machinery; the turret had two protected port-holes, and was placed on an iron-clad hulk, the deck of which was only about three feet above the water and clear of every thing except the turret.

For many weeks the sloop of war *Cumberland* and the frigate *Congress* had watched off Newport News for the expected monster, now called the *Virginia* by the enemy. On the morning of March 8th she suddenly steamed out from the navy yard at Gosport, and made for the *Cumberland*, but when passing by the *Congress* gave her a broadside, doing much damage. Mar.
8. The *Cumberland* had a heavy armament of 9 and 10-inch Dahlgren guns, and she poured in her broadsides with precision; but these heavy balls glanced harmlessly off the sloping sides of the *Merrimac*, while one of her solid shots tore through the wooden sloop's bulwarks. The *Cumberland's* men fought desperately, warping round their vessel to give effective broadsides; presently the *Merrimac* rushed at full speed upon the *Cumberland* and pierced her hull below the water line, making a hole four feet in diameter, and crushing in the frigate's upper decks, still pouring in solid shot and making a horrible slaughter on the crowded decks. Of the 450 men on board not a man wavered in this presence of death; their vessel was fast filling; in five minutes the water reached the berth deck where lay the dying and wounded. It was seen by her officers that the vessel must sink; at the last moment a salute was fired in honor of their country's flag; hardly had this been done when the ship gave a lurch and disappeared under the water. More than 300 of these brave fellows perished, the remainder were picked up by boats which put off from shore.

Meanwhile the *Congress* was engaged with the *Merri-*

CHAP. *mac's* two steam tenders—the *Jamestown* and the *Patrick*
 LIX. *Henry*. She was towed into shallow water and grounded,
 1862. but not out of reach of the *Merrimac's* guns, which soon
 Apr. disabled every gun on board the frigate and set her on fire.
 6. Lieutenant Pendegrast hauled down his flag to spare further
 slaughter. An officer from the *Merrimac* boarded the
Congress and received the surrender, but when on his way
 back some persons on the shore fired rifles upon his tug.
 When he returned the *Merrimac* shelled the shore and
 resumed fire upon the helpless *Congress*, whose men were
 not responsible for the firing from the shore. It was a most
 unwarrantable slaughter of innocent men. The *Congress*
 was set on fire by these shells and burned until the maga-
 zine was exploded; 150 men were lost. The *Merrimac*
 now made for the steam frigate *Minnesota*, which, when
 coming to engage in the conflict, had grounded three miles
 away. The commander of the *Merrimac*, afraid of getting
 into shallow water, contented himself by firing a few shots
 at long range which did but little harm. The rebel iron-
 clad withdrew at seven in the evening to renew her work of
 destruction in the morning, which was to sink or destroy
 every ship of war in the roads, and then what could she not
 do? The seaboard cities would be at her mercy. No
 wonder this was a night of gloom in the Roads and of
 anxiety all over the land, whither the telegraph had carried
 the news of these disasters.

Just after the *Merrimac* disappeared a singular looking
 craft appeared in the offing; it was the Ericsson invention
 —the *Monitor*—of which we have just spoken. She
 reported for duty and took her position near the *Minne-*
sota.

Early Sunday morning the *Merrimac* was seen coming
 from behind Sewall's Point. She ran down near the Rip
 Raps, then turned and ran for the grounded frigate, whose
 heavy stern guns gave her their solid shot. The *Monitor*—
 designated by the sailors as a cheese-box on a raft—ran
 down to meet the monster, which seemed to look askance

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at the little craft, and threw a shot at her, as if to say, Get out of the way or you may be hurt ; but instead, placing herself between the *Minnesota* and her antagonist, she paid her respects by a solid shot of 175 pounds. The *Merrimac* now turned with her broadsides against the turret, but without effect. The *Monitor's* two guns deliberately put in their shot. The *Merrimac* attempted to run down her little antagonist, and only once grazed her. The nimble *Monitor* was under such perfect control that she would dodge her enemy, and as she passed regularly gave her a shot. The *Merrimac* now gave up the attempt to run the craft down, but turned her attention to the *Minnesota*, but the *Monitor* again interposed by placing herself between the combatants ; and the *Merrimac*, to get rid of her, stood down the bay, the *Monitor* pursuing. Presently the *Merrimac* turned and ran full speed at her pursuer, which dodged her enemy, and, as she passed, plunged a shot into her iron roof. The *Merrimac* soon turned and made for Sewall's Point, pursued for some distance by the *Monitor* ; but as the latter had orders only to act on the defensive, she withdrew as soon as the victory was won. It has never transpired how much injury the *Merrimac* received. It is certain, however, she no more ventured out from her anchorage, where she was carefully guarded by land batteries, and in the end was blown to pieces lest she should fall into Federal hands. Thus ended the most influential naval duel that ever occurred, as it revolutionized the naval warfare of the world. All the naval powers now began to build iron-clads and virtually throw aside wooden men-of-war. The United States Government also began to build monitors of various sizes, some very large, and soon had a fleet of iron-clads more powerful than the war fleets of all the world combined.

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At the last broadside of the *Merrimac*, Captain Worden, the commander of the *Monitor*, was in the pilot-house, and when looking through the eye-crevice a heavy shot struck the house and the concussion knocked him senseless. When

- CHAP. consciousness returned, the fight was over and all was
LIX. silent. He anxiously asked, "Have I saved the frigate?"
1862. "Aye, aye, and whipped the *Merrimac*," was the answer.
"Then I care not what becomes of me," said he.

When the firing on Sumter took place, the great majority of the loyal people of the free States, and the officers of the National Government, had hitherto complied faithfully with the spirit of the Constitution, and of the laws of Congress in respect to the rendition of fugitive slaves. Even when it was known that more than a thousand of that class had been for weeks repairing fortifications, throwing up earthworks, and mounting guns against Fort Sumter, yet the loyal people did not realize that by this act the relation of the slaves to the Union had been changed. So strong was the influence of law, that for some time after the war began the slaves who fled in search of freedom to the Federal armies were returned to their masters as fugitives. It was the Abolitionists alone who were decidedly opposed to this policy. The loyal people of the free States had not yet been educated up to that plane, nor to that of utilizing these fugitives for the cause of the Union. Masters would come to the camps of the Federal army and demand their slaves under the famous Fugitive Slave Bill; and these demands were complied with by the generals of Democratic sympathies, with one marked exception—that of Benjamin F. Butler, in command at Fortress Monroe. That shrewd lawyer-general took in the situation; he refused to surrender them, taking the military view that these fugitives were "*contraband of war*." This decision covered the case; for it was well known that the slaves, by their labor on fortifications and otherwise, were more efficient aiders of the rebellion than if they were actually in the field. The term "*contraband*" became during the war the popular designation of such fugitives. Butler put these men to work and paid them wages.

CHAPTER LX.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Movement of the Army of the Potomac.—Evacuation of Manassas.—Yorktown, Siege of.—Battle of Williamsburg.—Sanitary Commission.—The Retreat.—Excitement in Richmond.—Conscription Law.—Jackson in Shenandoah Valley.—The Chickahominy.—Battle of Fair Oaks.—Lee in Command.—Battle of Gaines' Mill or Cold Harbor.—Change of Base.—Battle of Malvern Hill.—Harrison's Landing.—Cedar Mountain.—Second Battle of Bull Run.—Lee Invades Maryland.—Harper's Ferry Captured.—Battle of Antietam.—Lee Retreats.—McClellan's Slowness; His Removal.—Burnside in Command.—Battle of Fredericksburg.

PREPARATIONS on a large scale were made to move the Army of the Potomac to its destination on the Peninsula. There were employed 113 steamers, 185 schooners, and 85 barges with tugboats. These were to pass down the bay and up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and thence to "reach the vicinity of Richmond before they (the rebels) could concentrate all their troops there from Manassas." The latter had railroad communication and could place their troops in defense of Richmond long before the Union army could make its way across a country more or less woody, with four rivers to pass, proverbial for their marshy banks, which in the spring were always overflowed by freshets. This plan of advance, as the President suggested, was to leave a way open on the right flank of the army by which a force accustomed to move with the rapidity of the enemy, or, as we have seen, the Union armies in the West, could come

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CHAP. in overwhelming numbers and attack Washington before it
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1862. would be possible to recall the Potomac army from its position. For this reason President Lincoln retained McDowell's division for some time that the Capital might be secure. As the Confederates had their spies, male and female, in Washington, every fact worth knowing was communicated to them, and the city when known to be in a position of defense was secure from attack. In a note to McClellan the President gives his reason for retaining McDowell. This reason will always be satisfactory to the people. He says: "After you left I ascertained that less than 20,000 unorganized men, without a single field battery, were all you designed to be left for the defense of Washington and Manassas Junction, and part of this even was to go to General Hooker's old position."

Mar. 19. The Confederate General T. J. Jackson — afterward known as "Stonewall"—made a dash at Winchester, where General Shields was in command, but after a day's skirmishing and fighting retired in the night up the valley, destroying all the bridges on the route. The Baltimore and Ohio Railway, through the exertions of the chivalrous General Lander, was once more put in order that supplies could be brought to Washington. General Lander had been wounded in a previous battle, but would not retire, though urged by his physician, and in consequence his great exertions led to his death.

The enemy had been for some time leisurely evacuating Manassas and transporting their war material by railway to Richmond without interference from the Union army. Twenty hours after the fact was known along the front "it was made apparent at headquarters that the enemy was evacuating Centreville and Manassas as well as on the Upper Potomac." Yet orders were not issued for a pursuit until the enemy had been gone thirty-six hours. The Union army, after four days' marching, returned and had "gained some experience on the march and bivouac." Mar. 10. So said the General-in-Chief.

“ General Joe Johnston had 44,000 men at Centreville and Manassas, and Jackson had 6,000 in the Shenandoah Valley. Johnston finally fell back behind the Rapidan, deemed a more defensive position than the Rappahannock, of which it is a branch.”¹

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Two divisions—General Heintzelman commander—left Alexandria on transports for Fortress Monroe. Several days after McDowell’s division was ready to move, and as it has been said the President retained it to make Washington safe ; but on June 6th, when McClellan might need them, a large portion of the corps (Franklin and McCall’s divisions) was dispatched to him, who says in a note to the President, “ I shall be in perfect readiness to move forward to take Richmond the moment McCall reaches here and the ground will admit the passage of artillery.”

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The plan adopted by McClellan to reach Richmond was by the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers ; the latter not used lest the *Merrimac* should interfere, though she was closely blockaded by the *Monitor* and other war vessels. For one entire month the Union army was engaged in making the most elaborate redoubts and parallels, and placing in order siege guns, while the enemy could leave at any moment, as their rear was open and unobstructed. The Confederate government never intended to make a stand at Yorktown, and General Magruder had only about 11,000 men to defend a line “ embracing a front from Yorktown to Milberry Point. thirteen and a half miles.” But when the comparatively immense force of McClellan appeared, and after a delay of ten days or more began to dig trenches and not attack, General Joe Johnston availed himself of the delay to join Magruder with 53,000 men,² and he only remained to make a show of defense until Richmond could be thoroughly fortified. Had the Union army at once advanced with its much superior numbers, Magruder would have fallen back toward Richmond.

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¹ Life of Lee, p. 74.

² Life of Lee, p. 72.

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Magruder, surprised that he was not attacked, says: "In a few days the object of McClellan's delay was apparent. In every direction in front of our lines, through intervening woods and along the open fields, earthworks began to appear." McClellan made requisitions upon the War Department for siege guns, stating that the enemy had within his entrenchments "not less than 100,000 men, probably more," and that "here is to be fought the great battle that is to decide the existing contest," yet the way was open for the Confederates to retire to Richmond whenever they chose. He also complained of his want of men. Mr. Lincoln wrote in reply: "Your dispatches, complaining that you are not properly sustained, while they do not offend me, pain me very much." He reminds the General-in-Chief that he has with him 85,000 effective men, and *en route* enough to make 108,000, remarking: "By delay the enemy will relatively gain upon you; that is, he will gain faster by fortifications and reinforcements than you can by reinforcements alone." After further suggestions and expressions of kindness, he closed by saying—"But you must act." Time passed on, the enemy making a bold front to deceive the Union commander, and when he was ready to open with his siege guns, it was discovered one morning that the enemy were gone; their rear guard, even, was far on its way toward Richmond. The Federal gunboats passed up York river conveying transports, carrying Franklin's division to West Point, twenty-five miles above Yorktown, where it arrived the next day. This capture of Yorktown was hailed as an important victory by the people, and excited hopes of the speedy crushing of the rebellion.

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The Confederates, meantime, retired as best they could on account of the muddy roads, made so by a pouring rain, which continued for thirty-six hours, and halted to retard the pursuit at Williamsburg, twelve miles above Yorktown, at which place earthwork defenses had been thrown up some time before, mostly by the labor of slaves. About noon the same day the Union cavalry overtook the

Confederate army and ascertained their position, but imperfectly. The next morning early Heintzelman arrived with his division, Smith's and Hooker's divisions soon after. The latter commenced the battle at 7½ A. M. At 10 A. M. the enemy endeavored to turn the Union left, but Hooker persistently held his place, and for six hours the battle raged on this point; the mire was so deep that artillery could scarcely be handled. There was a lamentable want of coöperation among the division commanders, though General Sumner was nominally in command of the whole force, McClellan being still at Yorktown.

Early in the afternoon ammunition began to fail Hooker's men. Messenger after messenger had been sent to urge on Kearney's division, which was retarded beyond precedent by the almost impassable roads. Heintzelman and Hooker held their position by bayonet charges alone; it seemed a carnage to stand any longer owing to the deficiency of ammunition. "Shall we retire?" said Heintzelman to Hooker. "No sir," said the latter; "if we must fall, let those responsible for it be made to answer; *we* cannot leave this post." "Just my views," said Heintzelman. Presently a hurrah was heard above the din; Kearney's men, begrimed with mud, were coming through the forest. Heintzelman waved his wounded arm and shouted them a welcome, and called to the musicians, "Give us Yankee Doodle, boys!" and a cheer of triumph rose along the whole line as these brave men moved to the conflict. "On to the front!" shouted Heintzelman, and Hooker, knowing the ground, led forward the brigade without a moment's delay. The enemy fell back to their earthworks. "Now for the charge, boys!" was shouted, and they carried the rifle-pits and one redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The enemy tried again and again to recover the position, but were as often repulsed.

In another part of the field were found two redoubts unoccupied; of these Generals Hancock's and Smith's divisions took possession. Soon the Confederates discovered

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their loss, and made an effort to recover them. Hancock feigned to retreat, and they rushed on to make an assault. The Federals, at the proper moment, wheeled and rapidly delivered several deadly volleys, and then charged upon the surprised enemy, secured 500 prisoners, and scattered the remainder. Night came on; the Union soldiers remained on the field, sleeping for the most part on the muddy ground, without shelter or food. General McClellan arrived just as the battle closed.

During the night Johnston withdrew from the Williamsburg defenses and passed over to the south side of the Chickahominy, leaving on the field his dead and badly wounded—about 1,000. Colonel Averil pursued with a cavalry force and captured a large number of prisoners. The Union army lost 456 killed and 1,400 wounded; the Confederate loss was never reported.

The exposure and labor sent a great number of the Union soldiers to the hospitals. Here is where that blessed institution, “The United States Sanitary Commission,” came to the rescue of the wounded and sick soldiers. This “Commission” sprang from the benevolence of the people themselves, who cheerfully gave their money to sustain it, and ladies of the highest culture and refinement often volunteered as nurses. Tens of thousands of wounded and sick soldiers were thus aided, and received, under the circumstances, the tenderest care. The influence of that “Commission” has been felt throughout Christendom; and commissions modeled after it have blessed the poor soldiers of Europe in wars since the close of the great rebellion.

Meantime, General Huger was destroying all the war material and ships, to the amount of more than ten million dollars, at the navy-yard at Gosport, preparatory to evacuating Norfolk, when Magruder would leave Yorktown. The next day Commodore Tatnal, who commanded her, gave orders to blow up the *Merrimac*. Now was the time for McClellan to change his base to the James, which he had wished to do when the “monster” was supposed to be

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 11.

in the way. The gunboats passed up the James, silencing the hostile batteries, until they reached Drury's Bluff, eight miles below Richmond; on the Bluff was Fort Darling, so high that the shots from the gunboats passed over, while its guns were depressed so as to make plunging shots.

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These advances caused a thrill of consternation in Richmond, for the citizens and the authorities thought the Union army would promptly follow up its successes. The Confederate Congress refused to remain, but adjourned, failing to manifest the proper confidence in the government or army. Even in the President's mansion was "made a painful exhibition to the South of the weakness and the fears of those entrusted with its fortunes." Preparations were made to remove the public archives to Columbia, S. C. But when it was seen that McClellan, instead of working his way up the James, turned aside to follow up the Chickahominy, some of the citizens recovered from their alarm, and held a meeting and passed resolutions "to stand by the city or lay it in ashes" before it should fall into the hands of the Federals. A strange infatuation seemed to seize the Southern leaders to destroy the property of their own people; lest towns should be occupied by Union soldiers, they would burn them. Thus Magruder had laid in ashes the beautiful village of Hampton on the approach of the Union army. They seemed to act without reason. If they succeeded in separating from the free States, their towns would be safe for themselves; and if they did not succeed, they would only come back under the old flag, when their homes and property would be as secure to their owners as they always had been. In truth, these leaders were very free with not only the property, but with the individual rights of their own people. Their conscription act was cruel in the extreme and enforced without mercy. It read: "Every male citizen between the ages of 18 and 35 is declared *by virtue of his citizenship* to be *in the military service* of the Confederate States." Thus, wherever found, male citizens between these ages could be put in the ranks by the officer

CHAP. in command. The loyalty of the South is proved "by the
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 1862. general and continued submission of the people to the impressment system as practiced—such a tyranny, I believe, as no other high-spirited people ever endured."¹ In the free States, when a draft was necessary and ordered, the person thus drafted could furnish a substitute; and the people, having ascertained the quotas of their respective counties or districts, came forward of their own accord and provided the means to pay the men who entered the army; and, if they had families, pledged themselves to support them while the husband was in the field.

General Banks was in the Shenandoah Valley, his troops not exceeding 5,000; as he had been stripped of two divisions, one that of General Shields, sent to General McDowell at Fredericksburgh; the other, General Blenker's, to Fremont, in West Virginia. General Jackson was sent by Johnston, with 15,000 men, to pounce upon Banks, drive him out of the Valley, make a demonstration on Washington, and delay the movements of McClellan. General Banks had a small force stationed at Front Royal to protect the people from roving marauders; this force Jackson attacked, but, warned by a contraband, it fell back, skirmishing all the way toward Winchester, where Banks was. The latter made his arrangements, and at 2 A.M. his troops, artillery, baggage and hospital stores were on their march to the Potomac. This retreat was one continued skirmish, and some severe fighting. Banks deserves credit that, with his limited force, he brought nearly all his train and men safely across the river, and then halted to dispute the passage. Jackson did not linger, for he heard that Generals Shields and Fremont were coming to fall upon his rear, but escaped by great skill and joined Johnston, having accomplished nothing of importance, but lost by death Colonel Ashby, unquestionably the most competent commander of cavalry in the Confederate service. In a few weeks Banks was at his old post.

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¹ Johnston's Narrative, p. 425.

As an evidence of the patriotism of the free States, it may be mentioned that when Mr. Lincoln called upon those near at hand for volunteers to repel Jackson and defend the capital, in a few days nearly sixty regiments reported themselves ready to march.

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The advance of the Union army was slow ; it did not reach the Chickahominy until the 21st, when the left wing, unmolested, passed the river at Bottom's Bridge, to the South side, and the right wing remained on the North side; the whole line extending twelve miles to Cold Harbor the extreme right. Says General Barnard, chief-engineer of the Army of the Potomac : "This river, at the season we struck it, was one of the most formidable obstacles that could be opposed to the march of an army." "The stream flows through a belt of heavily timbered swamp, which averages three to four hundred yards wide ;" "and the water when but a foot or two above its summer level overspreads the whole swamp."

May
21.

From the White House—the head quarters—on York river, supplies came on steamers. General McDowell had his division at Fredericksburg, and it was designed, if necessary, that he should join McClellan. The Union army lay in an exposed position from May 21st to the 31st, the left wing south of this dangerous river and the right north ; Barnard says, the bridges and pontoons were ready ; and the entire right wing of the army could have passed the river any time after the 24th. Should a storm arise, the river swamps would be impassable for either wing ; for this storm the enemy waited : it came, and for two days they attacked the left wing furiously. This battle is known as that of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines, one of the most bloody contests of the war, in which both armies displayed heroic bravery. The enemy were compelled to retire, and Heintzelman and Sumner wished to march upon Richmond, only five miles distant ;—in truth Heintzelman's division reached a point

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¹ Barnard's Report, p. 18

CHAP. within four miles, but the General-in-chief would not per-
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mit the movement. Heintzelman, foreseeing the peril of
1862. having the army divided by that dangerous river, had given
warning days before, of what the enemy evidently intended ;
and General Sumner on his own responsibility passed the
river from the north side on a temporary bridge, and by the
presence of his troops the fortunes of the day were saved.
These two generals handled their forces independently of
each other ; there was no supreme authority on the field, as
McClellan was seven miles away. The Confederate loss was
about 8,000, that of the Federals about 5,000. In this bat-
tle General Johnston was severely wounded, and General
Robert E. Lee was appointed in his place to the command
of the Confederate army in front of Richmond.

After this battle, the Union army remained in its original position. The danger of thus separating the two wings by the river was still the same, and Lee, the new commander, did not fail to take advantage of the blunder. McClellan was still hesitating, it would seem, whether or not to change his base to the James ; he now telegraphed to the President that the enemy had 200,000 men. Says one authority, "the Confederate Capital had for its defence but 100,000 men at most." This included those in garrison in the forts around Richmond, while Childe says "on the 20th of June the army of Northern Virginia numbered 70,000 fighting men."¹ From June 1st to the 20th, the right wing of the Union army lay isolated on the north side of the Chickahominy ; a tempting bait which Lee laid plans to secure. "The Confederate army covered Richmond, extending from the James river, where its extreme right commenced, to the Chickahominy beyond Meadow Bridge, on which its extreme left abutted." General Huger commanded the right, General Magruder the center and General A. P. Hill the left, while the divisions of Longstreet and D. H. Hill, drawn up behind and beyond the left, were to support, at the fitting

¹ Life of Lee, pp. 75, 77.

moment, the turning movement of Jackson. General Lee amused McClellan by making demonstrations on his front, while Jackson, in accordance with orders, was making a long detour to attack the rear of the exposed right wing.

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Meanwhile, Lee sent General James E. B. Stuart with a cavalry force to reconnoiter, which he accomplished effectively; bringing confirmation of the exposed condition of the right wing of the Union army. "The Federal forces offered the strange spectacle of an army invading a country and, although superior in numbers and resources, awaiting the attack, instead of pressing forward and engaging itself in conflict."¹

June
12.

McClellan, on the eve of June 26th, fully determined to change his base; but now Jackson was almost ready to attack his right, and it was a far different matter to move with a persistent enemy pressing on the rear than to move unobstructed. During the forty days in the marshes along the Chickahominy, his army was almost decimated by diseases thus contracted. Two days before, June 24th, a deserter brought word that Jackson was preparing to attack the Union army at Mechanicsville, on the extreme right. McClellan sent two trusty negroes to verify the deserter's story. They soon returned, reporting that the enemy's pickets were at Hanover Court House. An attack was evidently impending. At last the resolution was taken to commence changing the base to the James. In the midst of preparations to pass the river, and about 3 P.M., General D. H. Hill's division, 14,000 strong, tired of waiting to hear Jackson's attack, passed the river at Meadow Bridge, and assaulted Fitz John Porter's division at Mechanicsville. Here began the famous "seven days' contest."

June
26.

June
26.

General Porter, seeing the large force of the enemy, fell back to a strong position at a crossing of Beaver Creek, to which the enemy soon came up and endeavored to cross by the two bridges, but were repulsed from both, one after the

¹ Life of Lee, pp. 79 and 86.

CHAP. other; at 9 P. M. the battle ceased, the enemy losing "be-
LX. tween three and four thousand; the Federals much less."
1862. The way was open, and during the night Longstreet joined Hill, and both moved round Porter's right to unite with Jackson the next day, and to make an attack on McCall's division at Cold Harbor. Learning of this movement McClellan ordered by telegraph that line to be abandoned and a new one taken, extending from near and beyond Gaines' Mill, and to Powhite Swamp, thus covering the approaches to the bridges over the Chickahominy, which must be made in order to change the base. During the night heavy guns were put in position on the South side to protect the bridges, and numerous wagons were passed over. "The delicate operation of withdrawing the troops from Beaver Dam Creek was commenced shortly before daylight, and successfully executed."

General Lee joined his army in the morning, but delayed to attack till he could hear from Jackson's guns; without waiting longer he, however, began the battle at 4 P. M., and it continued till eight. The greatest bravery was displayed on both sides; at half-past five P. M. Jackson came upon the Union lines. The Federals, meanwhile, rushed and charged D. H. Hill's division, and to aid him Lee ordered Longstreet to feign an attack on the center and left of the Federal right wing. But the latter, seeing the strength of the position, found he must make a real attack if he would aid Hill's troops, and "five brigades rushed to the assault in double-quick time, but were received by a fire so terrible that they recoiled cowed." It was just after this that Jackson's troops came upon the ground.

General Porter asked for aid, and General Slocum's division crossed the river to his assistance, and also other troops were sent over. At 6 P. M. the enemy made an attempt to break the Union line, but failed. An hour later they made a still more fierce attack, and gained the woods held by the left of the Federal right wing, and the Union soldiers fell back to a hill in the rear. Darkness came on,

The enemy, having been repulsed several times, did not press their recent advantage. This battle of Cold Harbor, or Gaines' Mill, was one of the hardest conflicts of the war. "The losses of the two armies were great—from 7,000 to 8,000 on the Confederate side, and from 6,000 to 7,000 on that of the Federals." The Confederates persist in calling the movements of the subsequent days a retreat; but the Federals call it a change of base, though undertaken too late.

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During the time this battle was in progress on the North side of the Chickahominy, the enemy were making demonstration on the South side, in front of Heintzelman's, Keyes' and Sumner's corps.

According to Childe the number of Confederates thus threatening amounted to only 25,000, while the number of Union soldiers held waiting was 70,000. Says Magruder in his report: "Had McClellan massed his whole force in column, and advanced it against any point of our line of battle, its momentum would have insured him success and the occupation of our works about Richmond." And Barnard says: "As it was, the enemy fought with his *whole* force (except enough left before our lines to keep up appearances), and we fought with 27,000 men." The Commander-in-Chief's movements were all interfered with by his absurd belief of the superior numbers of the enemy.

During the following night the Union troops were withdrawn from the north side of the Chickahominy; the trains, having passed over the day before, were far on their way toward the James. All the bridges over the river were blown to pieces to prevent the enemy's crossing. It is singular that not until this Friday evening did the corps commanders learn that they were to "make a flank movement to the James river."

June
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To abandon strong fortifications on which they had spent twenty days of hard labor had a depressing effect on

CHAP. the soldiers, yet they bore up manfully under the disap-
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 1862. pointment, though they had been at one time within four miles of Richmond. Notwithstanding this depression, in the three succeeding battles of Savage Station, Glendale, White Oak Swamp and Malvern Hill, the last and most important, they manifested marvelous courage and endurance. On the morning after the battle of Gaines' Mill McClellan wrote to the Secretary of War a letter closing in the following singular terms: "If I save this army now, I tell you plainly that I owe no thanks to you, or to any other persons in Washington. You have done your best to sacrifice this army." The incompetency in leading and directing this unfortunate army, time has placed elsewhere than with the Secretary of War.

June
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 July
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General Porter's corps rested for a few hours, then pressed forward toward the James, through the White Oak Swamp. Nearly 600 wounded men, by order of the Commander-in-Chief, were left under a flag of truce at Savage Station, "with a proper complement of surgeons and attendants, and a bountiful supply of rations and medical stores." The whole Union army withdrew, slowly and deliberately, and the enemy followed after, but were repulsed from time to time, when they made attacks, and in no instance did they in the main delay the withdrawal; for the corps commanders (as the Commander-in-Chief was in the advance) managed, under general orders, to take turns in repelling the enemy and holding them in check until the portion of the army in motion moved to a certain point, then those that held the opposing force in check passed on, while fresh troops awaited in well-chosen positions the approaching enemy. A part of the rebel army made detours by taking country roads, but when they came upon the line of march of the Union army they found it prepared to meet any assault. In this withdrawal the Confederate army lost many more soldiers than the Federal. Finally the advance reached Malvern Hill, on which McClellan arranged to make a stand. General Franklin held "Stonewall"

Jackson in check for half a day at White Oak Swamp bridge, then at 10 P.M., without orders, but with wisdom, withdrew: General Sumner of his own will followed, then Heintzelman and then Hooker, and early in the morning they took their position on Malvern Hill. This hill, 16 miles below Richmond, "is an elevated plateau about a mile and half long by three-fourths wide, and well cleared of timber, and with several converging roads running over it." On this plateau was the Union army, center and left, right extending to cover the passage to Harrison's Landing; thither the trains had passed the night before. On the hill sixty pieces of field artillery were placed in position; and also ten siege guns. This decision to make a stand on Malvern Hill Barnard says "probably saved the army of the Potomac from destruction."

Lee, who had been laboring for days to unite his whole army that he might, as usual, attack weak points in force, now found himself in position with his entire army, 60,000 or 70,000 strong under their respective commanders. He resolved to envelope the position of the Union army, but delayed the attack till 4 P.M., as he seems not to have had his preparations made; meanwhile, the Union soldiers of their own accord were throwing up numerous earthworks to defend certain positions. The attack was made on the Union left; the Confederates advancing their batteries in an open field, in front of woods where lay the men to storm the Union lines when their batteries had silenced the Federal guns. But their own batteries were soon disabled by the well-directed fire of the Union artillery, and the storming column had no opportunity to carry out their orders. "Instead of ordering up a hundred or two hundred pieces of artillery to play on the Yankees, a single battery was ordered up and knocked to pieces in a few minutes; one or two others shared the same fate," says Hill in his report.

"At six o'clock General D. H. Hill, deceived by what he thought was the signal for the attack, charged with all

CHAP.
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1.

CHAP. his division ; but finding himself unsupported, although
LX.
1862. Jackson might have hastened to his aid, he was obliged to retire with great loss. Magruder also, on the Confederate right, made an attempt which ended like Hill's. The flux and reflux of the rival armies lasted till night."¹ The gunboats joined in the fray, and made great havoc in the ranks of the Confederates. The Union army, according to the original design, withdrew to Harrison's Landing ; and the following night Lee fell back with his shattered troops to the Richmond fortifications. This ended the seven days' fighting and fearful loss of life, and the campaign became famous as the great failure of the war. The Union loss in killed, wounded and missing was 15,349 ; the Confederate, 19,533.

The most numerous and best drilled army of the nation had accomplished virtually nothing. With but one exception—Williamsburg—it had never been led against the enemy, but, on the contrary, stood on the defensive. It was kept from May 25th to July 1st in the swamps along the Chickahominy, where, amid the malarious influences and the broiling sun, the men became enervated to an unprecedented degree. Yet be it said to the immortal honor of the soldiers and officers composing this army, that they fulfilled their duty to their country, and under the most trying circumstances. They in every sense were the equals of their Western fellows who had been so much more successful. Prince De Joinville says : "If their primitive organization had been better, the survivors of this rude campaign, I do not fear to assert, might be regarded as the equals of the best soldiers in the world."² "An army which was able in the midst of so many trials and disasters to continue fighting all day, and marching all night, enduring its defeats bravely and without flinching, deserves the respect and admiration of both friends and foes."³

¹ Life of Lee, p. 108.

² De Joinville's Army of the Potomac, p. 96.

³ Life of Lee, p. 110.

McClellan at once asked for more men, and the government sent a sufficient number to make in the aggregate, by July 20th, 101,691 men, present for active service. The President issued a call for 300,000 more men; and he also, to secure greater efficiency, consolidated the three small armies of McDowell, Banks and Fremont, to the command of which—known as the “Army of Virginia”—he appointed General John Pope. He was directed to cover Washington, as the way was open for a Confederate march on the National Capital, and McClellan by his position could offer no obstruction to such a movement. In truth, the enemy, emboldened by his inaction, resolved to try for Washington, and at least force his recall from the James. General Halleck, at the recommendation of General Scott, was appointed “to the command of the whole land forces of the United States as commander-in-chief.” Halleck assumed command, and after a Cabinet council visited the army on the James to judge for himself whether it should be withdrawn or not. “The majority of the officers expressed themselves in favor of the withdrawal.” The men had become so weakened because of the hot weather and the malaria of the swamps that they were unfit to enter upon an advance.

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22.

Pope's army when he took the field amounted to 42,000 men; 5,000 of whom were cavalry—the latter somewhat inefficient from want of drill and concentration. Detachments of cavalry reconnoitered and reported the enemy in force on the Rapidan and also at Madison Court House. Pope interposed his forces between them and the National Capital. The movements of the Confederates puzzled the Union generals. Their presence was made known by an attack on General Banks. They arranged their forces in such a manner as to amount almost to an ambuscade into which the Federals fell. At about 3 P.M. the battle began, and soon became general. At 6 o'clock Pope came upon the field and made some changes of position, which the enemy mistook for a retreat, and pressed on

July
29.

Aug.
9.

CHAP. and came into an open field and exposed themselves to a
LX.
1862. very destructive fire of artillery, which drove them back to
Aug. their covert of scrub-oak. Night came on, and Jackson
11. fell back and disappointed the Federals, who in the morn-
ing expected to attack him. Jackson continued to retreat
till he reached the south side of the Rapidan, leaving his
badly wounded under a flag of truce. This is known as
the battle of Cedar Mountain.

A few days afterward Pope learned, from papers found
on Stuart's adjutant, who had been captured, that the
plans of the enemy were to march on Washington. Hal-
leck telegraphed an order to McClellan to bring his army
from the James to Washington. The latter asked that the
order might be rescinded, and an advance on Richmond
made by way of Petersburg. That movement was available
two months before, but it was now too late, and Halleck
insisted upon the order being obeyed, and it was complied
with in a tardy manner. Halleck had already ordered the
wounded and sick soldiers to be brought to northern hos-
pitals, to remove all obstructions to active operations.

At a convocation of the Governors of the loyal States
it was recommended to the President to call for 300,000
more men. The people of these States, though greatly
disappointed and mortified at the sad failure, nevertheless
labored with their usual energy to recruit the army and
sustain the Government. When Lee learned of this, and
that the army of the Potomac was ordered back to its old
quarters, he acted promptly, sending a force under Jackson
to crush Pope's army before it could be reinforced either by
the new levies or by McClellan's army. He sent forward
all the troops that could be spared from the fortifications
at Richmond, leaving there only the inexperienced. Pope,
learning of the number of the enemy in his front, fell back
from the Rapidan to the Rappahannock, at all the fords
of which they were checked. Soon the great mass of
the Confederate army disappeared; Jackson was making
an unusual detour to reach the Shenandoah Valley and

Aug.
15.

come in on the rear of Pope's army. The latter divined the movement and wrote to that effect to McDowell. Meanwhile, Jackson was pressing on over fields and bad roads, and appeared suddenly at Thoroughfare Gap, where the railway of Manassas Gap crosses the hills of Bull Run. Thoroughfare Gap was unoccupied, and Jackson, passing through, sent a detachment which overpowered the little garrison at Manassas Junction, and the hungry Confederates reveled in the provisions on hand at that important point. The next day, Longstreet, with his division, joined Jackson; with him came Lee, who assumed command. Pope now came up with his forces. They had been marching and countermarching for ten days to find the enemy, and were weary. His army amounted to about 54,000 men, and not more than 500 effective cavalry; Lee's army to 70,000 effective men, according to Childe's account. Pope pressed on as Jackson withdrew from the Junction, and prepared to give battle on the old Manassas ground, of July 21, 1861.

Gen. Sigel at 10 A.M. commenced the fight; the position of the enemy was well chosen behind the embankment of a railroad, and the Federal arrangements were equally as well made. The struggle was very severe during the day, and in the end was a drawn battle, though the Confederates were driven back and the Federals occupied the field. There was want of concert in the attack and movements of the Union divisions; some of them did not carry out their orders fully, as, for instance, Fitz John Porter's "forces took no part whatever in the action, but were suffered by him to lie idle on their arms, within sight and sound of the battle during the whole day." Had he come into it with his 10,000 fresh men, no doubt the victory would have been complete. This was the second time within two days that Porter had delayed or refused to obey Gen. Pope. He was afterward tried by court-martial for this conduct and severely censured.

The next day, about noon, the conflict was renewed:

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1862.

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29.

CHAP. the line of battle was nearly five miles long. Porter's
 LX.
 1862. division now taking part and fighting bravely, and other
 Aug. divisions, such as Heintzelman's and Reno's, maintaining
 30. their old reputation for persistent bravery and endurance. The contest extended along the line and raged for several hours; the Confederates bringing up heavy reserves, and hurling mass after mass of troops upon the Federal left. These persistent efforts forced the left back one-half or three-fourths of a mile, but at dark they made a stand firm and unbroken. If the forces of McClellan had been at Acquia Creek by the 20th of August, as ordered, they could have easily aided in this second battle of Bull Run; but tardiness was the bane of that brave but unfortunate army; and again there was want of harmony among the commanders of division, owing, it was said, to rivalries.

Pope fell back to the intrenchments at Centerville, and within a day or two retired to the defenses of the Capital, on the way to which was the severe skirmish of Chantilly, in which two most excellent officers were killed—General Stevens and General Kearney. General Pope asked to be relieved of further service in that department. The Union losses in all these conflicts amounted to nearly 15,000 men, killed, wounded and missing; the Confederates lost between nine and ten thousand. These disasters caused the most intense excitement in the loyal States; they were altogether so uncalled for and unexpected that the people were taken by surprise. But the effect was to rouse them to greater exertions and sacrifices than ever before.

A party in the Confederacy had urged that their armies should take the offensive rather than the defensive; and such had been the policy along the line of the Western Border States; but in these their efforts had signally failed. Now the want of success of the Army of the Potomac and the withdrawal of Pope's army induced Lee of his own accord to push on his army, his vanguard crossing the Potomac at the mouth of Monocacy Creek; three days after the advance was at Frederick, Maryland.

While the Confederates were thus moving, great confusion reigned at Washington and vicinity. General McClellan, in virtue of his position in his army and by direction of the President, took command of all the forces thus demoralized in and around the capital, and displayed his remarkable talents as an organizer by soon bringing order out of confusion. The Union army in a few days was prepared to place itself between the invading foe and the capital, and also to guard Baltimore. The army moved in the direction of the enemy; Burnside led the left, Sumner the center, and Franklin the right.

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1862.

General Lee and his officers were greatly chagrined because the people of Maryland did not hasten to join the Confederates, though Lee had issued a moving proclamation, and laid before them in expressive terms the sorrows they endured from the oppressions of the United States Government; but they—poor people—did not view it in that light.

At Harper's Ferry was General Miles with 11,500 men; he had been assured that aid would be sent him. But Lee was unwilling to leave this force in his rear, and says he, "The advance of the Federal army was so slow as to justify the belief that the reduction of Harper's Ferry would be accomplished, and our troops concentrated before they would be called on to meet it." Accordingly he sent Jackson, who moved rapidly, seized the heights that commanded the Ferry, and compelled a surrender of the garrison—the aid coming just thirty hours too late. The cavalry, however, escaped, and, on its way to join the Union army, captured an important train of wagons belonging to the enemy.

Sept.
15.

The Union advance entered Frederick, in which place was found an order of Lee's, dated the 9th, to his subordinate generals, fully explaining his future movements. McClellan availed himself of this information, and ordered his entire force to certain points. There are two passes or gaps through the South Mountain—name given to the Blue Ridge north of the Potomac—Crampton and Turn-

CHAP. er's, within five miles of each other. The former of these
LX.
1862. General Franklin was ordered to seize, which he did after
a sharp conflict, and passed through into Pleasant Valley to
find the enemy in force. Burnside also had reached Turner's
Sept. Gap and found it held by D. H. Hill, with a strong force,
14. and the crest of the mountain for a mile. The battle com-
menced by a cannonade at daylight, lasting all day. The
enemy withdrew the next night, having lost about 2,500
men. They next appeared drawn up on the west side of
Antietam Creek, professing to have gained their point in
holding the Gap until Jackson could return from Harper's
Ferry. In this battle was killed General Reno, a great loss
to the Union army.

General Lee's position was very strong, with the creek
in his front, Sharpsburg village one mile in his rear on
the way to the Potomac, over which, in case of disaster, he
could retreat. Over the creek were three stone bridges in
a distance of nearly four miles. Lee's army faced east, and
on his right he placed Longstreet, opposite the south bridge,
then came D. H. Hill, then Hood, and then north of him,
Jackson. McClellan's army faced west, and its left was
opposite Longstreet and the south bridge. Here was placed
Burnside's corps, then came Porter's in the centre, then
Hooker's, and a portion of Sumner's on the right.

Sept. The bridge on the Union extreme right, and also a ford,
16. were unguarded, and in the afternoon, Hooker, in obedience
to orders, crossed the bridge and ford without opposition :
but Lee had placed two of Hood's brigades under cover of
the woods to receive the Federals as they moved southwest
toward their line, and here the combat commenced. By
this time it was dark and nothing decisive was done, both
parties remaining in the woods. Hood's troops were re-
lieved by a portion of Jackson's forces, and General Mans-
field crossed the Antietam and joined Hooker, while Sumner
had orders to cross at daylight.

The sun rose clear and bright, and early in the morning
the conflict began in earnest, Hooker taking the initiative.

The assault was made by his centre division—Pennsylvania Reserves—under General Meade. The attack was so furious that after an hour's fighting, with the aid of the batteries on the east side of the creek, the enemy were forced to give way and retreat across an open field, beyond which were woods where they took shelter. Hooker advanced his centre and left over the open field, but when they approached the woods the enemy re-formed, and being reinforced, met them in the open plain with the most determined vigor. Both equally brave, this was one of the most terrible conflicts of the war, and continued until both sides, exhausted, retired as if by mutual consent.

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1862.

Sept.
17.

The Confederates had suffered greatly; several excellent officers had been slain or mortally wounded. Hooker's division had been almost broken to pieces; he called for Mansfield's division, which came on the ground about half-past 7 A. M. Meanwhile, the Confederates had been reinforced by D. H. Hill's division, which had been resting in the woods. Now commenced another bitter conflict. Hooker's broken corps and Mansfield's division were forced across the open field to the woods, and there they held their ground. The brave Mansfield was killed as he went to the front to examine the position, and Hooker, severely wounded, was carried from the field. At this time, 9 A. M., General Sumner brought up his corps, and drove one portion of the enemy back to the woods, and another portion was withdrawn. These, again reinforced, made an attack upon Sumner's right, which was much advanced, under Sedgwick, and drove it back; then the Confederates retired to a safe position in the rear at 11 A. M. Thus, between the rebel left and Union right was the conflict into which were sent reinforcements by both Lee and McClellan. Little was done by either the right or the center of the Union army in the afternoon.

Thus far nothing had been done on the Union left. At 8 A. M. Burnside had been ordered to force the lower bridge, and occupy the Sharpsburg heights; but not till 1 P. M. was

CHAP.
LX.
1862. the bridge carried, and not till two hours afterward were the heights captured, and without much struggle. The guns of the enemy had fully commanded the west end of the bridge; Burnside held the heights for a few hours, and then fell back to the bridge.

The next day each army rested; McClellan was reinforced by two divisions, and Lee was satisfied to hold his position. During the following night he withdrew, and the next day crossed the Potomac unmolested. McClellan was urged by the authorities at Washington to pursue and harass the enemy while the roads were good, but he was not ready, and the golden opportunity was lost to crush Lee's army, or drive it on its way to Richmond a disorganized force. Finally the President visited the army himself, and was convinced that it could move as well as Lee's, and, on his return, consulting with the Secretary of War and General Halleck, he sent a peremptory order to cross the Potomac and attack the enemy, lying in the vicinity of Winchester and Martinsburg.

Lee, emboldened by McClellan's inactivity, sent Stuart on a raid, with nearly 2,000 cavalry, into Pennsylvania. He made a complete sweep around the Union army, passing through Mercersburg, Chambersburg, and several other places, levying contributions on them all, and finally crossed the Potomac safely, scarcely losing a man.

McClellan did not obey the order of his superior officer, the President, given October 6th, but still lingered, and the President wrote him a letter, dated October 16th, in which he says: "Are you not over-cautious when you assume that you can not do what the enemy is constantly doing? Should you not claim to be at least his equal in prowess and act upon the claim?" This expostulatory letter was written in the kindest spirit.

McClellan at that time had an army of 130,000 men, yet he did not move, giving one excuse after another, for the most part trivial. As in the fall of the year before, he permitted the fine weather to pass without putting his

army in motion ; at length the patient President removed him from the command of the army, and ordered him to report at Trenton, N. J., his home, and appointed General A. E. Burnside to succeed him.

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1862.
Nov.
5.

General Burnside thought it better for the army to move direct to Fredericksburg, and crossing the river, force their way to Richmond. General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief, in an interview with Burnside disapproved of the movement, but finally consented and returned to Washington with the understanding that pontoon bridges should be sent across the country to Fredericksburg for the army to pass over. The army moved at once toward that point, while the enemy were deceived by demonstrations at several places ; but when the army arrived opposite Fredericksburg the pontoons had not come ; by an inexcusable blundering the proper officers had failed to send them. The object was to seize the heights in the rear of the town, and if storms came on go into winter quarters and then in the spring push on to Richmond.

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15.

While Burnside was waiting for the pontoons General Lee arrived with Longstreet's division, soon followed by others, and began to fortify the heights. Meanwhile, rains came and the Rappahannock was much swollen. Finally, the pontoons were laid in the afternoon, under the fire of sharpshooters and artillery. The crossings were to be made at three points the next morning, above the town, opposite and below, and the attack to follow. The crossings were made in a very heroic manner, but under great disadvantages to the Federals from the position of the enemy and their numbers, for their whole army was on those heights.

Dec.
12.

The Federal right made a series of assaults upon the enemy's entrenched line, nearly five miles long and crowned with field artillery. The Union heavy batteries on Stafford Heights on the North side of the river could scarcely reach this entrenched line ; between this line and the river was an open space within range of a double row of rifle-pits and

CHAP. a strong infantry force concealed right and left. Against
LX.
1862. these the Union soldiers were led; it is marvelous that so few of them were killed, and that they inflicted so much injury upon the Confederates. Assault after assault was made, and the brave Union soldiers rushed heroically into this arena of death. In no other instance in the war were Union soldiers led so recklessly. Night came on and the conflict closed. Only about 25,000 of Lee's troops were engaged, and they behind entrenchments. Two days passed without any special movement being made by either army, except the Federal batteries on Stafford Heights kept up a cannonade on the enemy's entrenchments. The next night came on a violent storm, during which Burnside skillfully withdrew his army to the North side of the Rappahannock. The Confederates lost 4,101 killed and wounded, and the Union army 10,233.

Dec.
15.

CHAPTER LXI.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Invasion of Kentucky.—Buell's March.—Battle of Perryville.—Battle of Iuka.—Preliminary Proclamation.—Opposition; the Effect.—The Slave's Hope.—Battle of Murfreesboro.—Confederate Failures.—Expedition up the Yazoo.—Capture of Fort Hindman.—Galveston Occupied.—President's Message.—Finances.—Northern Industries.—Confederate Finances.—Battle of Chancellorville.—Death of Stonewall Jackson.—Withdrawal of the Army.

WE return to the West. The Union army took possession of Corinth, on the Memphis and Charleston Railway. The same day General Halleck sent the Army of the Ohio under General Buell toward Chattanooga, an important strategic position on the same road in East Tennessee, two hundred miles east of Corinth; he also ordered General Grant to protect West Tennessee, and to operate from Memphis against Vicksburg. Buell was to pass along the road, put it in repair, and by that route receive his supplies. General O. M. Mitchel had previously held a portion of the same road, and had advanced into North Alabama, occupying Decatur and Florence, and General G. W. Morgan had also seized Cumberland Gap, the gate of East Tennessee.

These commands, when united with Buell's force, amounted to about 40,000 men—not half enough to accomplish what was required. In truth, these commands were depleted to augment the army around Washington. Meanwhile, the Confederates planned to cause Buell's withdrawal

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1862.

May
30.

CHAP. from his position. They determined to pass to his rear,
LXI.
1862. invade Kentucky, threatening both Cincinnati and Louisville, and force him to return for the latter's protection. And General Bragg, who had superseded Beauregard, and General Kirby Smith, with about 50,000 men, invaded Southeastern Kentucky and advanced toward the Ohio, pillaging as they went; while John Morgan and Forrest, each having about 1,500 cavalry, were riding and driving in every direction, plundering villages in the same region, defeating small parties of Union men, and destroying bridges. Buell was ordered to cross the State of Tennessee and meet these forces, and drive them out of Kentucky. He moved from North Alabama as speedily as possible, and came into the State three days behind Bragg, who had made a push from Glasgow toward Louisville to find General Nelson prepared to repel him, and he prudently fell
Sept. back to Bardstown to unite with Kirby Smith, lest Buell
26. should overtake him. The latter arrived at Louisville, and as soon as possible went in pursuit, thus interfering very much with the enemy's plans of carrying off plunder, for which they had impressed all the wagons, mules, horses, and slaves of the country. They found they must fight,
Oct. and they made a stand at Perryville. Buell came up
8. and a severe battle was fought, with various success during the day, but at the close the Federals had a decided advantage and made preparations to attack the enemy vigorously in the morning; but during the night the Confederates left their position and fell back to Harrodsburg. Thence Bragg continued his retreat from the State, disappearing through Cumberland Gap, to reappear in Middle Tennessee, in the vicinity of Murfreesboro, some months afterward. Buell was relieved of his command and General Rosecrans appointed to succeed him. He was of the over-cautious school; a most excellent disciplinarian, but failed sometimes to make a dash.

The failure of Bragg and Smith in Kentucky caused the greatest chagrin throughout the Confederacy. Their

programme had been to recover Kentucky and drive the
 Federals out of West Tennessee and reoccupy Fort Donel-
 son. This plan was sadly interfered with, first at Iuka, CHAP.
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1862.
 Miss., where Rosecrans defeated Sterling Price and cap-
 tured 1,000 prisoners; and the same Union general treated Sept.
20.
 the Confederates still more severely at Corinth. In this
 fight the enemy, under Generals Van Dorn, Price, Lovel,
 and Rust, had about 38,000 men, according to their own Oct.
4.
 estimate; the Union force was about half that number.
 They retreated in haste, leaving on the field their dead,
 1,423; wounded, 5,692; and prisoners, 2,248; the Union
 loss was only 315 killed and 1,812 wounded. So dissatis-
 fied were the authorities at Richmond that General Van
 Dorn was relieved and John C. Pemberton appointed to
 succeed him.

After the battle of Antietam the President issued, on
 September 22d, a preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation Sept.
22.
 of the slaves belonging to those engaged in the rebellion, to
 take place January 1, 1863, unless the States thus engaged
 should be "in good faith represented in the Congress of
 the United States by members chosen thereto at elections
 wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State
 shall have participated." This "shall be deemed conclu-
 sive evidence that such State and the people thereof have
 not been in rebellion against the United States." Here was
 an offer to the insurgent States to lay down their arms
 within one hundred days, and save their slaves. But the
 same infatuation still prevailed; they would make no con-
 cessions; encouraged by the hope that the people of the
 free States would become divided on the question of eman-
 cipation, and in the end they would secure a separation
 from the Union.

This was pre-eminently a war measure; for the slaves
 laboring by thousands on rebel fortifications, or in cultiva-
 ting the fields at home while their masters were in the
 Confederate armies, were as useful to the rebellion as if they
 were soldiers in their army itself; and the slave became as

CHAP. "contraband" of war, as a horse used to draw artillery on
LXI. the field of battle, or carry a trooper on his raids.
1862.

The opposition made in the North to this measure strengthened the hands of the leaders of the rebellion immensely, and served to prolong the contest. It was confidently asserted that this offer of freedom would lead to insurrections and massacres, rapine and outrage, on the part of the slaves; all of which was utterly disproved by the events that followed. Those who had prophesied these direful things had taken the San Domingo insurrection with its untold horrors as a type; these negroes were virtually savages, great numbers of whom were natives of Africa itself, stolen thence and consigned to slavery; having been deprived of the sweets of liberty, they felt more keenly the contrast than if they had always been in servitude. With the slaves of the South it was far different. They, indeed, longed for liberty, but they looked for it through the intervention of others; they drew their hopes from the case of the Israelites led from Egypt by the hand of Moses; they trusted God would come to their aid in a similiar way—raise up for them a Moses; and in this trust in Providence their faith was marvelous. The gospel of forgiveness had been preached to them by preachers both of the white race and their own, and the truths of the Bible, thus orally presented, had a wonderful influence in preparing them for the events about to follow. Nor must we think they were entirely unaware of the discussions on the subject of slavery and their own freedom which for so many years had agitated the country. The discussions on political subjects at their masters' tables were carefully treasured up by the reticent slave in waiting, and as carefully related to his fellows outside, and they communicated the same from one to another in a remarkable manner. The people of the South owe the deepest gratitude to the slaves for their wonderful moderation under the circumstances; it is the highest credit to their humanity and kindly disposition that they committed no outrages on the families left under

their protection, but with few exceptions labored in good faith for their support.

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1862.

When Bragg retreated from Kentucky, he took a long detour by way of Chattanooga to invade Middle Tennessee. General Rosecrans gradually moved in the same direction, sending forward several divisions of his army to Nashville. It was ascertained the invaders were concentrating south of that city in the vicinity of Murfreesboro, and that they had taken position on the west side of Stone River, a crooked stream whose general course is from the south toward the north. General Rosecrans, after many maneuvers to learn the enemy's position, made his arrangements to fall upon the right of the Confederates with a force sufficient to crush and drive them back upon their center. A citizen of the neighborhood was captured and brought to General McCook, who commanded the Federal right. The citizen said the enemy were *massing* their men on their left; it was not possible for want of time to verify the statement. General McCook, in reply to a question of Rosecrans, thought he could hold his position for three hours. In the morning these masses of the enemy rushed upon Rosecrans' right—McCook's position. Bragg had learned the plan of battle designed by the Union commander, or it may have been a coincidence. Rosecrans had advanced to fall upon the enemy's right, when he was arrested by the noise of a severe fight upon his own right; and soon came a messenger from McCook, stating that he had been attacked by overpowering forces, was pressed and needed assistance. Rosecrans answered: "Tell him to contest every inch of ground. If he holds them, we will swing into Murfreesboro with our left and cut them off." Soon, however, it was evident to Rosecrans that he must change his original plan and hasten to sustain his own right, which had already been driven, though sullenly, some distance. The Confederates came upon the troops under Sheridan. Here he displayed that remarkable promptness and skill which he

Dec.
15.

Dec.
31.

CHAP. afterward so often showed. The enemy advanced across
LXI. an open field and in compact mass. Upon them he trained
1862. three batteries with terrific effect, yet they closed their ranks and pressed on to within fifty yards or so of the woods in which the Union infantry lay under cover, when suddenly the latter rose to their feet and poured in such destructive volleys that they broke and fled. General Sill charged and drove them across the field and until they found shelter in their entrenchments. In this charge the gallant Sill lost his life.

Other divisions moved against Sheridan's position, but he undauntedly changed his front and repelled them. In an hour's time came another assault, for which he prepared by planting his batteries to sweep the advancing columns. Twice more he was assaulted, but repelled the enemy with great loss. It was now three hours since the battle began, and Rosecrans came on the field. New dispositions were made by both armies, and severe fighting occurred at different points. Finally the Confederates made their last assault, to find themselves subjected to so destructive an artillery fire that when within three hundred yards they broke and hastily retired to their entrenchments. This ended the conflict of that day. The armies lay watching each other for two days. A sharp skirmish occurred on 1863. Jan. 2. the second, in which the rebels were worsted. The following night Bragg led off his disappointed army toward the South. Every attempt the Confederates had made of an aggressive character had totally failed from Antietam to Murfreesboro. The influence of this battle was very discouraging to the leaders of the rebellion, and even more to their people. The Union army engaged amounted to 43,400 and Bragg's about 60,000. The Union loss, killed and wounded, 8,778; the Confederate loss more than 10,000 killed and wounded, and 1,700 prisoners.

General Grant, whose headquarters were at Memphis, was directing his efforts to open the Mississippi; his special

object for that purpose was the reduction of Vicksburg, the "Gibraltar of the Confederacy." In the latter part of November he set out with an army to take Vicksburg in the rear by capturing Jackson—forty-six miles east—the capital of the State, while Sherman was to pass down the river from Memphis in transports and steamers convoyed by Porter's gunboats, then up the Yazoo to a certain point, and there land and make a junction with Grant's forces. The latter moved by way of Holly Springs, which place the enemy evacuated on his approach; he passed on to find them drawn up for battle on the other side of the Tallahatchie river. He flanked them and they fell back to Abbeville, out of which they were driven; the column moved on to Oxford. There he halted for an accumulation of supplies at Holly Springs, but Van Dorn, with his cavalry, surprised the regiment guarding these supplies and most effectually destroyed them. The destruction of these stores necessitated Grant to fall back and give up that plan of attack.

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LXI.
1863.

1862.
Dec.
2.

Dec.
20.

But Sherman, not aware of this mishap, passed twelve miles up the Yazoo and found the Confederates in force at Hayne's Bluff, a strongly fortified place, and commanding the river and any approach by land. Instead of the coöperation of Grant, Sherman found the enemy's entire force free to oppose him on the Yazoo. He made a vigorous attack, but so amply were they prepared to repel any force that he was compelled to withdraw, sustaining a loss of nearly 2,000 men; retiring down to the Mississippi, and opposite the mouth of the Yazoo at Young's Point and Milliken's Bend, the army was concentrated twelve miles above Vicksburg. Grant took his forces from Memphis down the river to the same place.

Dec.
29.

While waiting for Grant and his forces, General McClelland, who was in temporary command, captured Fort Hindman, at Arkansas Post, fifty miles from the mouth of that river. The expedition was well planned; the troops being on board steamers, Porter convoyed them with his

1863.
Jan.
11.

CHAP. gunboats and rams. The troops landed three miles below
 LXI. the Fort and invested it as soon as possible, while Porter
 1863. passed up to close range; the conflict was sharp and
 decisive: soon a white flag appeared, the fort was surren-
 dered and with it all the war material and 5,000 prisoners.

Feb. General Grant arrived at Young's Point with his forces
 2. and assumed command, and in due time prosecuted his
 designs against Vicksburg.

1862. General Banks sent a force from New Orleans to recover
 Dec. and occupy Baton Rouge. The garrison withdrew up the
 16. river to Port Hudson, soon to become fortified to such a
 degree as to be second only to Vicksburg. He also sent an
 expedition to occupy Galveston, Texas, under the protection
 of the gunboats. The force landed and took possession.

1863. The Confederates made an attack by land and by water
 Jan. with three powerful rams. The *Harriet Lane* was cap-
 1. tured, her commander, Wainwright, being killed. The
Westfield, the flag-ship, was aground and prepared to be
 blown up, but as Commander Renshaw, the last to leave,
 was stepping off she prematurely blew up, killing that most
 efficient officer.

1862. Congress assembled, and in his annual message Presi-
 Dec. dent Lincoln proposed compensation for slaves freed under
 1. certain restrictions; that those who were not disloyal to the
 Government should be thus compensated; that slaves once
 freed by the contingency of war should never be reduced to
 servitude. This message the Southern leaders either passed
 over in silence or published garbled extracts, accompanied
 with sneers of contempt. The mass of the people were not
 permitted to see the whole message.

1863. On January 1, 1863, President Lincoln, in accordance
 Jan. with his pledge, unless the insurgents should lay down
 1. their arms, issued his final decree of Emancipation. From
 its results this has become famous as a landmark of human
 progress. He closed by saying: "Upon this act, sincerely
 believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Consti-
 tution upon grounds of military necessity, I invite the con-

siderate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.” This decree was hailed with enthusiasm in the free States by those who desired the rebellion to be suppressed unconditionally, but was proclaimed by those who wished in some way to stop the rebellion, even by a compromise with armed rebels, as unconstitutional, and all that. The converse of this was, that it was constitutional for the Confederates to use their slaves to aid them in resisting the Government in its legitimate authority. Now there is scarcely an individual, even in the former Slave States, but looks upon the abolition of the system as a great blessing to the South, as well as to the whole nation.

No one in passing through the free States at this time, and seeing the industrial activity, would have suspected that the nation was engaged in civil war, at the cost of more than a million of dollars a day, and more than five hundred thousand men withdrawn from the active duties of life. A tariff higher than usual had been imposed on imports to meet, to some extent, these extraordinary expenses, and the people entered upon manufacturing industries with unprecedented zeal, and the busy hum of work was heard over the land. These resources were, however, insufficient to defray the enormous expenses, and Congress authorized the emission of United States notes, known as greenbacks, to the amount of \$150,000,000, and also bonds to the amount of \$500,000,000; the latter bearing interest at the rate of six per cent. These were offered in small sums to the people at large, and they came forward with wonderful unanimity to aid in the cause by furnishing the sinews of war. Nothing was more astonishing than what might be called the reserved resources of the free States.

Taxes—for the emergency—were imposed upon incomes and manufactures. Thus, what was lost by the falling off of import duties was more than gained by domestic taxes. And, what was still more beneficial, the people had employment in the introduction of new industries, or the more extensive prosecution of the old. Taxes were imposed—

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1863.

paid by stamps—on bonds, mortgages, deeds, and numerous commercial transactions. These onerous taxes were repealed or lightened as soon as the Government could afford it. In some instances, foreign manufacturers found it for their pecuniary interest to transfer their machinery and works to this country, thus increasing opportunities of employment to our own working people. After the suspension of specie payments the premium on gold rose and fell, and thus interfered very much with the regular prices of merchandise and of wages.

It is well to glance at the condition of the Confederacy at this time. Their debt was already six hundred million dollars, this was the amount of their scrip afloat, which the people were compelled to take in exchange for what the government wanted. This scrip was only payable on the contingency of a separation from and peace with the United States. A very heavy direct tax was levied upon the country, to defray current expenses, and to furnish a redemption fund for the scrip to be redeemed at the rate of one dollar for three, thus repudiating two-thirds of their debt. Of their efforts to obtain a foreign loan every one utterly failed; their cotton and tobacco could not be exported because of the blockade, and for the same reason English blockade runners could not come in, while so many of them had been captured with their valuable cargoes that they almost gave up the attempt.

Jan.
26.

General Burnside at his own request was relieved of his command of the Army of the Potomac, and General Joseph Hooker entered upon his duties as his successor. This was an experiment to find the right man, and as the soldiers characterized Hooker as "Fighting Joe," it was hoped he would be successful. There was great want of harmony among the officers of this unfortunate army—for which the soldiers were not to blame—unjust criticism by subordinates in respect to superiors, and lack of cheerful and prompt obedience to orders. A great many changes of officers, and also dismissals, were made in order to secure obedience and

competency. The army was reorganized; an important change was made in the increase and drilling of the cavalry force, which numbered 12,000; and the entire army, when ready to take the field, 120,000. It was still opposite Fredericksburg; and Lee kept guard at the fords of the Rappahannock for twenty-five miles, holding a very defensive position. He had sent Longstreet with 24,000 men to guard the approach to Richmond by the James river, he himself having 47,000 effective men; but their defensive position made them equal to three times that number.

Hooker, finding the fords in front well guarded, resolved to pass up the river twenty-seven miles, and there cross and move rapidly to Chancellorsville—eleven miles southwest from Fredericksburg—a country inn where four important roads meet. The army moved rapidly, and on the second day passed over on pontoon bridges laid for the purpose. The march to Chancellor's commenced at once; they came to the Rapidan at a place where the water was about four feet deep; they did not delay for pontoons, but stripping by divisions plunged in, and, carrying their clothes and arms and rations above the water, passed over, and clothing themselves in the same order were soon on the move. The crossing continued all night long, and in the morning all were safely over. The afternoon of the same day they arrived at Chancellor's. The forces there were surprised and driven back toward Lee's main army, and an advanced position of great importance was secured by General Sykes' regulars, from which he was ordered back—a grievous error, as it afterward proved. Thus far all had been successful in their movements, and Hooker, over-sanguine, exclaimed: "The rebel army belongs to the army of the Potomac!" Other divisions were signaled and passed the Rappahannock on pontoons with but little opposition and marched toward Chancellor's. General Sedgwick had, according to orders, crossed below Fredericksburg and made demonstrations on the Confederates' extreme right.

Lee, perceiving this latter to be a feint, left 6,000 men

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CHAP. to guard the fortifications, and hastened with all the force
LXI. he could muster to Chancellorsville. On the march he met
1863. "Stonewall" Jackson, who proposed to make a long detour
and come in on the extreme right of the Union army.
Early in the morning he set out with 22,000 veterans in a
direction that induced the Union scouts to think he was
falling back toward Richmond. Lee, meantime, with only
13,000 men, kept Hooker's attention by making feints at
different points during the day, while Jackson was moving
rapidly round to the rear of the Union army. There is
certainly no excuse for Hooker and his officers to be thus
deceived by this usual maneuver of Jackson. At eight
May 2. P.M. the latter fell with unexampled fury upon the Eleventh
Corps, General Sigel, which was completely surprised and
driven back upon the Twelfth Corps. Darkness came on,
and the enemy was checked by some earthworks hastily
thrown up, and by the persistent cannonade into the woods
kept up by the Federals. Jackson wished to make a night
attack, and gave orders to that effect. Not wishing to trust
any one, he himself, with a few attendants, went forward
to reconnoiter, leaving directions to his soldiers not to fire
unless they saw cavalry approaching from the side of the
Federals. He was returning, when a brigade of his own
men fired by mistake, and he fell mortally wounded. A
few days later he died. General J. E. B. Stuart was ap-
pointed to the command of his division.

May 3. Both armies prepared for the struggle of the next day.
Sedgewick obtained possession of Fredericksburg and
moved toward Chancellor's. Hooker's lines were now in a
position that rendered his superiority of numbers unavail-
able for a general battle because of dense thickets of scrub-
oak. Fighting in certain points continued through the
day, and Lee himself, taking four brigades from in front of
Hooker, forced Sedgewick back, though his troops suffered
much from the Federal artillery. Sedgewick was com-
pelled to recross the river. For three hours there was no
responsible head to the army, as Hooker when on the

piazza of the inn—his headquarters—was stunned by a piece of falling timber knocked down by a cannon-ball from a hostile battery. It is now well known there were a number of inexcusable blunders which made this battle more a disaster than a defeat. A council of war was held at Hooker's headquarters. Generals Meade, Reynolds, and Howard wished to advance and fight it out; Slocum was not present, and Couch and Sickles thought it prudent to withdraw. It was decided by Hooker to withdraw, and during the night, in the midst of rain and darkness, the army passed safely to the north bank of the Rappahannock. The Union army lost in killed and wounded about 11,000 and the Confederates about 10,000. The disappointment of the loyal people of the country at this disaster was exceedingly great.

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May
4.

Hooker, when about to move, sent a large co-operating cavalry force under Stoneman around the enemy's army to destroy railroads and bridges, and to cut lines of communication between Lee's position and Richmond. This raid, though not fully completing the orders given, did an immense amount of harm to railways; and a portion under Killpatrick passed entirely around Richmond to Gloucester on the James, and joined the army at Fredericksburg.

May
8.

CHAPTER LXII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Lee's Advance North.—Hooker's Movements.—Confederates Across the Potomac.—Gen. Meade in Command.—Battle of Willoughby Run.—Death of Reynolds.—Battle of Gettysburg.—Lee's Defeat.—Vicksburg.—Running the Gauntlet.—Victories.—Vicksburg Captured.—Port Hudson Captured.—Grierson's Raid.—Naval Expedition.—Capture of the Atlanta.—The Draft and Riot.—French Protestant Address.—Colored Soldiers.

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1863.

THE cry "On to the North" was heard on all sides in Richmond. General Lee coincided in this view; his army was out of provisions, and it is said that on one of the requisitions to the Commissary-general the latter wrote: "If General Lee wants rations, let him go and get them in Pennsylvania." Another reason was to compel Hooker to withdraw his army to defend Washington. Childe, in his life of Lee, enumerates among the encouragements, that the Emancipation Proclamation "had exasperated the Democratic party, who complained bitterly that all Constitutional liberties were disappearing;" and also great hopes were entertained from the influence of the "Friends of peace." "The victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville had filled the South with joy and confidence." "If Lee's cannon had thundered at the gates of Washington or Philadelphia, the 'Peace party' in the North would have felt sufficiently strong to intervene in an efficacious manner, and it would have been impossible for the strife to continue."¹

Hooker was vigilant and felt assured that the enemy
Life of Lee, pp. 220, 227.

were moving toward the Potomac; this information he sent to Washington, and asked permission to attack their rear, but the request was refused. At length Hooker took up his line of march toward Washington, and the 50,000 men under Longstreet in his front hastened to join Lee and the advance; their army numbered 70,000 effective men, 10,000 of whom were cavalry: by far the best of their armies in discipline.

Hooker by skillful reconnoitering discovered the movements of Lee's army, and in a cavalry skirmish Pleasanton obtained papers at Stuart's quarters which revealed the intentions of Lee: this information Hooker at once sent to Halleck's quarters at Washington. Meanwhile, the Confederate advance under Ewell was rapidly and secretly moving down the Shenandoah Valley, marching seventy miles in three days. They surprised Gen. Milroy at Winchester and compelled him to retreat; he finally reached the Potomac and passed over, losing on the way about 4,000 prisoners. Milroy would not have been surprised if Halleck had telegraphed to him the news of the enemy's advance, which was known at his headquarters several days before.

The movements of the two armies were nearly the same as the autumn before; Lee, moving down the valley and crossing the Potomac, and Hooker, conducting his march with great prudence, keeping between him and the National Capital; they moved in parallel lines, watching each other carefully. Bands of Confederate cavalry in force had cut the Baltimore and Ohio railway at important points, and had passed across Maryland by way of Hagerstown to Chambersburg, Pa., seizing cattle, horses, sheep, and sending trains of wagons laden with plunder across the Potomac. This continued almost unmolested for two weeks. The Governors of the States of Maryland, Pennsylvania and West Virginia issued proclamations calling for the people to turn out and repel the invaders, and so did President Lincoln.

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June
9.

June
14.

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The advance of Lee's army under General Ewell crossed the Potomac at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, passing on to Chambersburg, and thence to York. Two days afterward the divisions of Longstreet and Hill crossed at the same places, and finally the whole army was reunited at Chambersburg. Hooker crossed the river at Edwards ford and moved to Frederick. Hooker now desired to send a strong force to unite with the troops at Maryland Heights, and take possession of the Potomac ferries in the rear of Lee, and thus cut off his communications and seize the laden trains continually passing south, but Halleck, the General-in-Chief, disapproved of the measure, as he usually did of the suggestions of the commanders in the field, who were presumed to know the situation better than any General in his office at Washington. Hooker, irritated at the refusal, sent in his resignation, which was accepted, and Major-General George G. Meade was appointed to succeed him.

June
25.June
28.

General Meade did not change the arrangements of his predecessor, nor were operations delayed longer than one day. The troops on Maryland Heights were directed to join the army. In consequence of the interception of a letter from Jefferson Davis to Lee it became known that no movement could be made direct on Washington from Richmond, and from the defenses of the former troops were forwarded to Meade. The Federal army marched up the Monocacy Valley toward Gettysburg, Killpatrick's cavalry in the advance.

June
29.

Meanwhile Lee had heard of Hooker's judicious plan to seize his line of retreat, and he suddenly fell back, as he was marching on Harrisburg, to secure a position east of the South Mountain. Up to this time he was not aware that the Union army had crossed the Potomac, and was in ignorance of its movements. He at once recalled Ewell from York and Carlisle, and ordered Longstreet and Hill to concentrate their divisions at Gettysburg, toward which village both armies were approaching, each ignorant of the intentions of the other.

General Buford, with a division of Federal cavalry, was the first to enter the village. He learned of the approach of the Confederates. This information he at once sent to Meade. General Reynolds, with the First and Eleventh Corps, was only four miles distant from the town, and had orders to occupy it the next morning. General Meade's headquarters were at Taneytown, thirteen miles distant; and at intervals for about twenty miles several corps of Union troops were on their way. General Buford, with his division of cavalry, moving out of town, had taken a defensive position on Willoughby Run, a little stream two miles northward of the village and beyond Seminary Hill. General Hill learned from scouts that Federal cavalry occupied the town, and in the morning moved to drive them out, when his advance found an unexpected resistance. Buford determined at all hazards to hold the position till General Reynolds, with his forces, could come to his assistance, which he did at 10 A. M. Reynolds had no orders to bring on a battle, but there was no alternative, and putting himself at the head of his division he hastened on, and sent back orders for the Third and Eleventh Corps to come forward with all haste. He took position on Seminary Hill in front of the town, lest it should be destroyed by shells. The artillery was under General Doubleday. General Reynolds, when directing the position of the last brigade on the right, was killed by a stray bullet—a sad loss to the army and the country. General Doubleday then directed the battle, which now began in great earnest. An entire Confederate brigade crossed Willoughby run and drove Buford back, but in turn were themselves repulsed and captured, with their commander, General Archer. A Mississippi brigade was coming in on the right flank and nearly captured a battery, when the Federals changed front and at once charged bayonets. The Mississippians, thus suddenly attacked, were thrown into confusion and sought refuge in the cut of an unfinished railway, and were soon forced to surrender.

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1863.

June
30.

July
1.

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1863.

Lee's orders had been so admirably obeyed that Ewell coming from Carlisle on the north, Early from York on the east, and Hill from Chambersburg on the west, all reached Gettysburg at intervals on the same day, July 1st.

General Hill, early in the morning, had put in line of battle 14,000 men, besides his advance, Heth's division. At noon the Union army had decidedly the advantage. Ewell, who heard the roar of battle ten miles distant, hurried forward, and came upon the field at 1 P.M. He at once prepared to assault the Federal left flank, and Hill to renew the fight in front. After the fight had commenced, suddenly Early appeared on the other side, and made an impetuous charge on the Eleventh Corps, which had come up an hour or two before. These accessions to the Confederate army gave it the superiority of numbers, and thus pushed on three sides, and thrown into confusion, the Union forces—from necessity too much extended—were driven back through the village.

General Howard, when he reached the battle field at 1 P.M. with his corps, the Eleventh, assumed command. In coming up he prudently stationed one of his divisions in reserve on Cemetery Ridge, a commanding position south of Gettysburg. This division checked the advance of the enemy, and enabled the Federal troops to rally in order to receive the attack of the now exultant Confederates. The wounded Union soldiers were sent during the day to the village, and, of course, they fell into the hands of the enemy when they obtained possession. Thus ended the battle of July 1st.

General Lee had not yet arrived, but sent orders to Hill to pursue to the utmost. Early wished to assault the heights immediately; but Ewell and Hill, seeing the position strong and the Union soldiers prepared, thought it more prudent to await the morning, when their other forces could come up. When Lee arrived he found that Hill had recalled the troops.

News of the death of Reynolds had been sent to Meade,

who directed Hancock to take command ; he arrived near the close of the battle, and did much to restore order and place the troops in a position almost impregnable. As the Union troops came up during the night they were arranged along Cemetery Ridge, directly south of the village, the south end of which was terminated by two knobs known as little Round Top and Round Top. Both of these were occupied in force. In front of the former was extended the Third Corps, under General Daniel Sickles, 1,100 yards in advance on a slight elevation—a mistake which Meade discovered too late to remedy before the enemy, seeing their advantage, made the assault.

On the other hand, Lee, who thought to choose his own ground, had to arrange his men to meet the dispositions of his adversary. More than half the day passed without demonstrations except an artillery duel ; Meade was waiting for the enemy to begin the conflict. About 4 p.m., without sending forward skirmishers, lest they should give notice of his coming, Longstreet with his entire force made a tremendous assault on the advanced position of Sickles, extending his lines to overlap the latter, and by a rush forward seize Little Round Top, the key to the whole position. Just at that moment Sykes's Corps, which had been held in reserve, were moving by order of Meade to occupy the same key. They had scarcely reached their line on the top when the Confederates, having passed round Sickles's left, came rushing up the slope to find themselves confronted with the most determined courage. Here occurred a most desperate hand to hand struggle. It resulted in the repulse of the assailants.

Longstreet's attack on Sickles's corps was more successful ; the soldiers fought well, but their faulty position gave the advantage to their adversaries. Sickles was severely wounded and carried from the field, General Birney taking the command.

A gap of nearly half a mile north of Round Top was made in the Union lines by the sending of reinforcements.

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1863.

July
2.

CHAP. The Confederates made an effort to secure this opening,
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1863. but were beaten off by the Federals sent to occupy the same place, and who reached it first. Then the Confederates made a long detour and came out in the rear of Round Top, with the hope of suddenly securing that important point, but to their dismay they saw its crest crowned with soldiers and cannons. The Fifth and Sixth Corps, fresh troops, had a few minutes before occupied the top. The latter just arrived, having marched thirty-six miles at a quick step. To attack such a position was madness, and the enemy fell back disappointed, and bivouaced in a neighboring wheat field.

Opposite the Union right was stationed Ewell, who only made demonstrations, which Meade soon detected; but about six P.M. he made a real assault against a portion of Cemetery Ridge, and captured and held a breastwork partially manned, most of the troops having been withdrawn. Three of Early's brigades attacked another portion of the same, and succeeded in driving back the unfortunate Eleventh Corps, though the artillery made sad havoc in their approaching lines. Their triumph was short, for the Second Corps fell upon them with determined vigor, and drove them off faster than they had the Eleventh.

The Confederates attributed the failure of the day to the want of united action on the part of their officers in command. Darkness ended the afternoon's work; the Confederates confessing they had "obtained no serious advantage." This ended the battle of July 2d.

July 3. Lee made no change in his general plan, but hoped on the morrow to have perfect concert of action among his own troops. During the night General Picket brought him his division—4,000 fresh soldiers, yet he was doomed to see his plans frustrated. General Slocum before dawn attacked the Confederates in the breastwork, though they had been reinforced by three brigades, and, after a severe contest of some hours, drove them out with great loss. Finding it impossible to regain the position lost, Lee changed his plan,

and determined to assail the Federal center on Cemetery Ridge, and by two P.M. his arrangements were completed. In front of Longstreet's and Hill's troops he placed 115 guns on Seminary Hill, hoping to disable the opposite Federal guns and then carry Cemetery Ridge by assault. General Meade penetrated the design, and made counter preparations by placing only 80 guns in position for want of room, as he had 120 more on hand to replace those disabled. Then followed a most terrible combat of field artillery. The Confederate guns accomplished but little, though they kept up an unceasing fire of two hours, as the Union troops were under excellent cover. General Hunt, Chief of Artillery, purposely slackened his fire in order to save ammunition, but Lee thought it was because of the great number of disabled guns in the Federal lines, and he made preparation to carry the Ridge by assault. About four P.M. from the west of Seminary Hill appeared the lines of the Confederates moving to the attack, with a steadiness most remarkable. In the center was Picket's division, the finest troops of the Confederate army, supported right and left by the fine divisions of Pettigrew and Wilcox. The assailing column altogether numbered 13,000 bayonets. They had 1,300 yards of plain and rolling land to pass over to reach the Federal lines, all the way under the fire of batteries on Cemetery Ridge. As they advanced the supports right and left began to waver, the left falling back, and the right, not keeping up, finally melted away. Still the Picket column moved on, closing up their ranks as the men fell, "its flanks exposed to an oblique fire from right and left, and the head of the column torn by bombshells and grape shot; but nothing could arrest it."¹ The incessant fire caused it to swerve to the left instead of direct upon the point intended; presently they came within musket range, the Federals reserving their fire for more deadly effect. The column pressed on without taking time to return the fire, which had been delivered upon their left;

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1863.

¹ Life of Lee, p. 248.

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1863.

when they came within two hundred yards, they were received by a severe fire from two divisions, this they returned, and then rushed on, but soon a portion of the column broke in disorder; fifteen of its colors were captured and nearly 2,000 prisoners; another portion swerved to their right and took possession of a stone wall a little way in advance of the main breastworks; this wall had been hastily constructed and used temporarily; on this they placed the blue flag of Virginia—for Picket's 4,000 were Virginians, and brave fellows too—a small success very dearly bought. They became a center of fire—front, right and left—in a few minutes; they threw down their arms, and fell upon the earth to escape the leaden hail; twelve stand of colors and about 2,500 prisoners were taken.

This virtually ended the battle of Gettysburg, when the Rebellion received a blow from which it never recovered. "The Confederate soldiers returned in a mob, pursued by the growling of hostile cannon, which swept all the valley and the slopes of Seminary Hill with balls and shells." Lee exclaimed to an English officer who was present: "This has been a sad day for us, Colonel.—a sad day—but we can't always expect to gain victories."¹

July
4.

Both armies remained in their respective positions; Meade was prudent and Lee seemed satisfied with his last rash attempt, so disastrous and so wanton in the destruction of the lives of his soldiers. He at once began to send off his trains to the crossings of the Potomac, and on the same night, in the midst of rain and storm, the Confederates began to retreat, leaving their dead on the field and their wounded uncared for; Ewell's division remaining to keep up appearances until nearly noon on the 5th.

July
14.

A laborious march brought Lee's whole army to Hagerstown on the 7th; finally he crossed the river, which had been swollen by rains, thus delaying the passage for several days. Meade was cautious to excess, and unwilling to run risks the end would not justify; he was much censured for

¹ Life of Lee, p. 249.

allowing the Confederate army to escape so easily, yet in the pursuit he captured great numbers of prisoners ; many of whom were wounded and cruelly left by the roadside to lighten the trains. Lee fell back and finally took position on the south side of the Rapidan, and Meade in his old quarters on the north side of the Rappahannock. In this battle the Union army lost in killed 2,864, in wounded 13,790 ; the Federals buried 4,500 of the enemy's dead, and 26,500 wounded fell into their hands, and 13,621 other prisoners.

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1863.

Aug.
1.

Gen. Grant, finding it impossible to take Vicksburg from his present position, determined to pass a portion of his army on the west side of the river from Milliken's Bend to a point below, and then by running the gauntlet of the Vicksburg batteries obtain gunboats and transports to ferry over his troops to the east side of the river.

A portion of the army commenced the laborious march, most of the way over an inundated and spongy soil ; the soldiers oftentimes halting to construct corduroy roads.

Mar.
29.

Meantime Admiral Porter ran past the Vicksburg batteries with gunboats and a number of transports, which were all protected from shot by cotton and hay in bales. These transports were manned by volunteers. Said Gen. Grant in one of his reports : " It is a striking feature of the volunteer army of the United States that there is nothing which men are called upon to do, mechanical or professional, that accomplished adepts cannot be found for the duty required, in almost every regiment."

The gunboats and transports passed down, the former bombarding Grand Gulf, but without much success, and at Bruinsburg they met the army, which was at once ferried over, and General McClernand's corps marched out toward Port Gibson to occupy certain hills. He was successful in driving the enemy toward Grand Gulf, which place General Pemberton ordered to be evacuated and the troops to join him at Vicksburg ; and he urgently cried to General Joe Johnston, who had chief command of the Confederate

Apr
30.May
1.

CHAP. LXII.
1863. forces in that section, for reinforcements. The latter replied : " If Grant crosses, unite all your troops and beat him back ; success will give back what was abandoned to win it."

Grant waited five days for supplies and for Sherman, who had made a demonstration up the Yazoo, to join him ; then began a series of rapid movements and victories by the Union troops. He first moved toward Jackson, the State capital, throwing out parallel divisions, bewildering Pemberton as to his real object. The soldiers had rations for five days, sufficient for this short and decisive campaign. As the army advanced they came in contact with the enemy from time to time. They found them strongly posted in the woods near the village of Raymond. After a contest of three hours the Confederates were driven from their position, they taking the direction of Jackson. Great numbers threw down their arms and deserted. The next day General McPherson's corps occupied Clinton, and obtained some important dispatches at the telegraph office ; meanwhile Johnston had arrived at Jackson and taken command. Sherman and McPherson, despite the miry roads, were moving on, and three miles from Jackson met Johnston's army, about 11,000 strong. McPherson engaged the main body, and Sherman passed round, flanking the enemy and driving the riflemen from their pits. The Confederates soon left the field, having lost 250 prisoners and eighteen guns. Grant left Sherman at Jackson to destroy the war material and railways, but to *protect private* property, while he himself hastened to attack Pemberton, who was said to be in a strong position at Champion Hill with 25,000 men. General Grant was on the ground, but wished to delay the battle till the Thirteenth Corps (McClelland's) could come up, but ere he arrived the Confederates began the battle, at 11 A.M. ; and after a short and decisive struggle they were driven from the field, with great loss in killed and wounded. They fell back to Black River railroad bridge, where they made a stand ; but their soldiers were sadly demoralized,

and when a Union brigade charged their right in order to obtain a better position, they fled in disorder. "All is lost!" re-echoed from the ranks, and the panic-stricken soldiers crowded into Vicksburg, at ten o'clock at night, as into a trap.

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Vicksburg was invested the next day. Grant at first ordered an assault, hoping that in the demoralized condition of the enemy he might carry the place; but it was too carefully fortified to be thus taken, and he was forced to begin a regular siege. Then followed a series of expedients, such as mines, one of which when exploded blew a fort one hundred feet into the air. The garrison was nearly exhausted, and famine was pressing on when, on July 3d, at 8 A.M., a flag of truce came out from the besieged lines bearing a communication for General Grant, which contained proposals for surrender. The terms were arranged and the Confederates laid down their arms and were paroled—about 32,000 in number.

May
23.

July
4.

Port Hudson, twenty-two miles above Baton Rouge, had been invested by General Banks. The attention of the garrison was attracted by echoes of great shoutings in the Federal lines. It was soon ascertained that the cause of the uproar was the announcement of the capitulation of Vicksburg. General Gardner immediately surrendered Port Hudson with its garrison of more than 6,000 men with all their war material. The Mississippi was now open its entire length. The Confederacy had lost from July 1st to 9th 80,000 men and an immense amount of war material. General Banks's army consisted partly of troops of African descent. Many of these were from the Northern States, some were freedmen emancipated by the President's proclamation. To their honor be it said they were not guilty of outrages on their recent masters. They made efficient soldiers; more than 50,000 during 1863 enlisted in the Union armies, and about 100,000 the following year.

July
9.

Quite a number of minor expeditions were made during the siege of these two important places; the first of these

CHAP. LXII. was marked by boldness and success. Colonel B. H. Grierson made a cavalry raid from La Grange, Tenn., with 1,700 men, sweeping through the center of Mississippi, destroying \$4,000,000 worth of contraband property, and coming round in safety to Baton Rouge.

Apr.
17.

July
8.

The Confederate General John H. Morgan made a raid into Kentucky, and after some successes and repulses crossed the Ohio at Bradensburg into the State of Indiana. The people turned out promptly and met him at every point, though he had an effective force of 2,800 men. He was chased so hard that near New Lisbon, Ohio, he himself was glad to surrender. Only 500 of his men escaped. The gunboats in the river had prevented his recrossing. He did much damage to the railroads, but so imperfectly that they were soon repaired.

Apr.
7.

July
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Aug.
24.

A naval expedition under Admiral Dupont was fitted out against the forts in Charleston harbor. Nine iron-clads on a clear, bright morning, when there was just sufficient wind to blow away the smoke of battle, steamed up toward Charleston. Not a gun was fired until they had reached a position on which were trained the guns of Forts Sumter and Moultrie and several other batteries. After a most gallant bombardment the iron-clads were withdrawn, as it was discovered that without a coöperative land force the forts could not be taken. One of the iron-clads was so damaged she was blown up. General Hunter, in command of the department, was succeeded by General Q. A. Gilmore, and Admiral Dalgren superseded Dupont. Gilmore now began regular siege operations; and at length by a continuous bombardment of siege-guns and iron-clads Sumter was crumbled to pieces. Gilmore occupied a point four miles distant, and from there he threw shells into Charleston itself, which was soon abandoned by most of the inhabitants.

An English blockade-runner—the *Fingal*—came into Savannah in November, 1861, but was unable to return

with a cargo of cotton, because of the fleet investing the harbor. The Confederate authorities fitted her out as an iron-clad, somewhat after the manner of the famous *Merri-
mac*, and called her the *Atlanta*. Her prowess excited great expectations, and it was proclaimed by her officers that no iron-clad in the Federal navy could withstand her attacks. Admiral Dupont, hearing of this iron-clad ram, sent the monitors *Weehawken* and *Nahant*, under Captain Rodgers, to Warsaw Sound to watch for her, as it was ascertained that in a few days she was coming out to spread havoc along the coast. Rodgers arrived, and sent a little steamer up the Savannah as a scout. Early one morning the scout announced that the *Atlanta* was coming down the river; all hands on the monitors were piped to quarters. Rodgers steamed down the river to decoy the *Atlanta* into deep water, where he could more easily maneuver the *Weehawken*. The ram hastened to pursue, thinking the monitor was trying to escape; when she came within easy range Captain Rodgers slackened his speed, and he himself sighted one of the *Weehawken's* 15-inch guns, and the shot smashed the *Atlanta's* pilot-house to flinders, wounding both the pilots; another 15-inch shot struck her half way from her gunwale, crushing her iron and wood work, and making a large hole, killing one man and wounding twelve. Four out of five of the *Weehawken's* shots took effect; the *Atlanta* failed to injure her antagonist, and after a contest of fifteen minutes she hauled down her flag. The disappointment was great to the gentlemen and ladies who had been induced to accompany the *Atlanta* in other boats, with the expectation of seeing her capture the monitors.

Congress found it necessary to pass a law authorizing the President to recruit the army by a draft from able-bodied citizens between the ages of 20 and 45. This he ordered for 300,000 men. In consequence of this order a riot, the most terrible in our history, began in the city of New York, and lasted for three days, but was finally put down by the police, with the aid of armed citizens and

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1863.

June
17.Mar.
3.July
13.

CHAP. soldiers from the forts in the harbor, but after, it is esti-
LXII. mated, about two hundred persons were killed, mostly
1863. rioters. The latter began by burning the houses where the provost marshals had their offices, the fire often extending much farther. The spirit which animated a certain class of the rioters manifested itself in the burning of the Half Orphan Asylum for colored children, and other fiendish outrages were perpetrated upon the colored population. Afterward great numbers of the rioters were arrested, tried and sentenced to years of imprisonment. The riot would have been subdued sooner, had not the National Guard—city militia—been absent at the call of the President to aid in repelling Lee and his army from Pennsylvania.

The depression and disquietude in the Confederacy were very great after the reverses from July 1st to 9th. Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation ordering into the field all white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five. These were to serve three years, and if they refused to report themselves they were to be treated as deserters from the Confederate army, that is, to suffer the penalty of being shot, according to military law. The Confederate financial prospects were becoming worse and worse, and these reverses had crushed every hope of recognition by foreign powers, and even the expectation of mediation faded away.

The laboring classes of England, as far as they understood the matter, sympathized with the free States in their struggle with the slave States. The intelligent portion of the French people were still more pronounced. The Protestant pastors of France in an address (dated Paris, March 12th, 1863,) to their Protestant brethren in England, because of their want of sympathy with the free States in their struggle, use the following language: “No more revolting spectacle has ever been before the civilized world than a Confederacy, consisting mainly of Protestants, forming itself and demanding independence, in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, with a professed design of maintaining and propagating slavery. The triumph of

such a cause would put back the progress of Christian civilization and of humanity a whole century.”

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The Confederate authorities were greatly exasperated because colored men were allowed to enlist in the United States army. They were in the habit of giving no quarter to these soldiers, and the atrocities practiced upon those of them who happened to be captured in battle roused President Lincoln to issue a proclamation announcing that for every captured colored soldier sold into slavery there should be put one Confederate prisoner of war to labor on the public works, there to remain until the colored soldier was free and treated as a prisoner of war. This proclamation ended that species of outrage.

1863.

The organization of National Banks has proved an effective agency in securing a uniform currency and cheap exchange in mercantile transactions between the different sections of the whole country. These banks are required to invest their *entire* capital in United States interest-paying bonds, which interest is paid to the banks themselves in gold. *Ten* per cent of their capital is retained by the Government to meet contingencies, while *ninety* per cent of the same is furnished to the banks in the form of circulating notes. These notes are engraved, printed and registered by the Government alone, in order to control their issue and prevent fraud in the circulation of the banks getting beyond the legal amount. Should a national bank fail, the holder of its bills cannot suffer loss, as they would be redeemed by the United States Treasury. The notes of these banks are at par throughout the Union, and as such are received for all dues, “except duties on imports and interest on the public debt.” This financial measure greatly facilitates commercial relations between the people of different portions of the land, and aids in strengthening the union of the Nation.

CHAPTER LXIII.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

The March to Chattanooga.—The Battle —Chickamauga.—Burnside ; Knoxville —Consolidated Armies.—Battle above the Clouds.—Bragg's Defeat.—A Stringent Order.—Marauders in Missouri.—Massacre at Lawrence —Red River Expedition.—Massacre at Fort Pillow.—Grant ; Lieutenant-General.—Position of Affairs.—Sherman flanks Johnston; he falls back.—Death of Bishop Polk.—Kenesaw Mountain.—Across the Chattahoochee —Hood in Command.—Death of McPherson.—Battles.—Atlanta Captured.—March to the Sea.—The Christmas Gift.

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1863.

FROM the battle of Murfreesboro, at the first of the year, till June 25th, Rosecrans remained in his camp recruiting, especially his cavalry. Meanwhile, General Bragg retired to the south bank of Duck river—a deep, narrow stream—whose fords he fortified with the greatest care, and waited for Rosecrans to come and attack him in his well-chosen position. The latter advanced not in the way marked out by his adversary, but by a series of skillfully devised flanking movements compelled Bragg to abandon all his well-laid plans, and to escape being taken at great disadvantage in the rear. He fell back into Alabama and continued his retreat across the Cumberland Mountains to Chattanooga, there he made a stand, having been largely reinforced from Lee's army by Longstreet's division and from Johnston's Mississippi force, and paroled prisoners from Vicksburg who had not been exchanged. He fortified that famous railroad center, and at various points on the Tennessee river threw up defensive works. Rosecrans was much retarded in his pursuit by the excessive rains, the swollen

streams and the want of bridges, which had been carefully destroyed by the retiring enemy. Chattanooga is on the Tennessee river at the mouth of a valley formed by a creek of the same name, between Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. Lookout Mountain rises 2,400 feet above the sea; the base is wooded, but the sides, for the most part, are of abrupt rocks, which in places are perpendicular.

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1863.

On Rosecrans's approach Bragg evacuated Chattanooga, which the former occupied, himself, and also a portion of Lookout Mountain by Crittenden's division, and the valley of the Chickamauga by General Thomas's corps. Bragg advanced his forces over Chickamauga Creek to get between Chattanooga and Rosecrans's main army. This movement brought on an engagement. About 11 A.M. the Confederates attacked the Union left flank with their whole strength, and forced it back after an obstinate resistance. The Federals being reinforced in turn took the offensive, and by 4 P.M. recovered nearly all the ground lost. The Confederates left their dead on the field and all their badly wounded. Meanwhile, Generals Bishop Polk and Hill assaulted the Union center, which wavered for a short time but recovered and held the enemy in check; then the assault was made again with a stronger force, and the center was compelled to give way. Sheridan's division came up, and presently others, and after a spirited charge at sunset regained the entire ground. After dark the enemy made a desperate attempt on the center, but were received so vigorously that they abandoned their position. This ended the first day's battle.

Aug.
20.

Sept.
19.

The Confederates renewed the conflict the next day by again attacking the Union left. The Federals held their ground for a time, and then fell back in order, and being reinforced, checked the enemy. Two hours after they threw a tremendous force upon the Union center, where General Thomas commanded. During the night his men extemporized a barrier of logs and fence rails, from behind which their musketry told severely on the enemy, while the

Sept.
20.

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11.

artillery on rising ground in the rear made havoc in their ranks. The Confederates came on with frantic yells. They often staggered under the well-directed fire, but would rally again under the urgency of their officers. The Union center had been weakened by almost one-third; the disordered portions fell back toward Chattanooga, and Rosecrans was carried along with the crowd. Thomas then moved to a position on the slopes of Mission Ridge, and there massed what artillery he had, which played most effectively on the enemy. They were urged against the position of Thomas by Longstreet and Bishop Polk with a disregard of human life scarcely known. As they came up they were slaughtered at a terrible rate by well-directed discharges of musketry and artillery. Then they made a flank movement, and were attacked by Union cavalry and severely repulsed. At 4 p.m. Thomas retired in order to Chattanooga. The losses of the Confederates were enormous, as they were so much exposed in their assaults. Bragg admitted a loss of 18,000—now known to be much below the actual number. The Union loss was 1,644 killed and 9,262 wounded.

The "Army of the Cumberland" was in straits for provisions at Chattanooga, as the numerous cavalry of the enemy were continually breaking their long line of communications. The Government detached two corps from the Army of the Potomac and sent them under Hooker. They went by rail, and arrived at Chattanooga in an almost incredibly short time. By the same authority, General Grant sent Sherman with a large portion of the army that had captured Vicksburg. Rosecrans, meantime, had been relieved, and General Thomas appointed to succeed him.

Sept.
1.

General Burnside, who was in command of the Department of the Ohio, moved through Eastern Kentucky and reached Knoxville, Tenn., where he was hailed with rejoicings by the inhabitants. He took possession of the famous Cumberland Gap, cutting the communication between Richmond and Middle Tennessee. After the battle of Chickamauga, Bragg, at the suggestion of Jefferson Davis, who

was visiting his army, sent Longstreet to drive Burnside out of Knoxville. The former made an assault, but was so severely repulsed that he was under the necessity of besieging the town, which he did till he was compelled to raise the siege on the approach of Sherman and retreat into West Virginia, and thence joined Lee's army on the Rapidan.

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Sept.
29.

Dec.
3.

The authorities at Washington consolidated the Western armies—the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Ohio—and appointed General Grant to the command. He assumed office and appointed General Thomas to the first named; General Sherman to the second, and General Burnside to the third. On the day that Grant himself arrived at Chattanooga, Hooker surprised and drove the Confederates out of Lookout Valley; they moving round the mountain to Mission Ridge. Sherman's troops from Vicksburg arrived, but so secretly that Bragg was entirely ignorant of their presence. Grant at once availed himself of the mistake of sending Longstreet to Knoxville, and began to make demonstrations on Bragg's left to divert his attention; sending a large force with much ostentation; and taking position on high ground in sight of the enemy, but as soon as it was dark the force countermarched and reached the main army in the morning. He also sent General Thomas, who surprised the enemy and drove them before him, obtaining an important position, which he secured by fortifying. Meanwhile, to conceal Sherman's march round to Bragg's right, he directed Hooker to make an attempt on Lookout mountain; he moved at once and soon his men were picking their way up. A fog had rested upon the mountain during the morning, which concealed the movement from the Confederates, and they only learned of it as their rifle-pits one by one were taken; at 12 o'clock Geary's battalion rounded the peak of the mountain still enveloped in clouds. The Federal soldiers had been ordered to maintain their place if they should gain the top, but their appearance was so sudden and unexpected by the enemy that they took to flight, and Geary's soldiers forgot their orders and rushed on in pur-

Oct.
18.

Oct.
23.

Nov.
23.

CHAP. suit ; other brigades were coming up, and after two or three
LXIII. sharp conflicts the plateau was cleared, and the Confede-
1863. rates aided in their descent over the rocks to the valley below.
About 2 P.M., the clouds rolled down off the mountain and
revealed the stars and stripes planted on the summit ; such
was the battle above the clouds. We may imagine the
cheers that went up from the Union army below in Chatta-
nooga. Sherman had now come within striking distance
and was waiting for the time appointed—daylight—when
Nov. the whole Union line was to advance. From a cone-shaped
25. hill called Bald Knob, could be had a view of the entire
battle-field ; on the top of this hill, Grant, with some of-
ficers, took his stand.

Sherman commenced the attack on the Confederate
right about 10 A.M., and in an hour's time it became
general along the lines. The contest was carefully watched
from Bald Knob ; it was seen that Bragg was weakening his
Nov. centre by sending troops to his right ; the crisis had come.
25. Grant signalled the command and three or four brigades
dashed down the slope and across the valley and straight
for the centre of the Confederate army, literally running
over the rifle-pits in their front, burst out of the woods like
an overwhelming torrent carrying all before them ; the
panic stricken enemy fled in every direction. Just at sun-
set the Ridge was in Union hands and the Confederates
were disastrously defeated. Pollard says : “A disgraceful
panic ensued ; the whole left wing of the Confederates be-
came involved, gave way and scattered in unmitigated rout.”
It was a most striking scene to behold the flaunting signal
flags on the tops of these mountains, telegraphing to one
another, and to hear the cheers that rose along the lines for
six miles.

General Grant the same evening telegraphed to Wash-
ington : “I believe I am not premature in announcing a
complete victory over Bragg ; Lookout Mountain top, all
the rifle-pits in Chattanooga valley, and Missionary Ridge
are held by us.” The pursuit was commenced the next

morning, but was soon discontinued, and Sherman was at once sent to relieve Burnside at Knoxville.

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The authorities at Richmond censured Bragg for his misfortune, alleging that his positions were so impregnable that he should not have been defeated, and General Joe Johnston was sent to supersede him in command.

General Grant issued a very stringent order to restrain the soldiers from marauding upon the inhabitants, and appropriating private property. Any soldier found guilty of such conduct was to be summarily punished. Every effort, consistent with military necessity, was made to protect the poor people of the Confederacy, and these orders were enforced, as far as possible, by the Union officers.

July
25.

General Fred. Steele was sent from Vicksburg to occupy Little Rock, the capital of Arkansas, in order to revive the loyal element in the State, and re-establish the legitimate authority. General Steele repaired to Helena and assumed command, then to Clarendon, on the White river, and then across the country, driving the Confederates before him, who finally made a stand three miles below Little Rock, but were quickly defeated, and pursued so vigorously they were unable to set fire to the town. Except an iron-clad ram on the stocks, property, both public and private, was held sacred. A provisional government was established; General Steele remaining some months. The Confederate power in the State was effectually broken, and only squads of guerrillas prowled about the country, robbing the houses, granaries and cellars of their own people.

Aug.
17.

Sept.
10.

In Missouri hordes of these men swarmed over the country pillaging the people, disloyal or loyal. Under an outlaw named Quantrell, a band of these marauders dashed into Lawrence, Kansas, at half-past four in the morning, and in cold blood murdered every man they could find. "Eighty-five widows and two hundred orphans were made that morning." The town was plundered and ladies robbed of their jewelry.

Aug.
17.

Expeditions of Federal troops occupied Corpus Christi

CHAP. on the coast, and Brownsville on the Rio Grande in Texas ;
LXIII. an expedition was sent up the Red river against Shreves-
1864. port, an important point.
Jan.

After much preparation General Banks was ready to move. Admiral Porter, with fifteen gunboats, passed up Red river, freeing it of obstructions and its banks from the presence of the enemy. The gunboats reached Alexandria and Union troops occupied the town. The Confederates, scattering over the country, burned all the cotton they could find, and the houses in which it was stored. The army from necessity left the river ; the advance carelessly fell into an ambuscade, was forced to fall back, and finally abandoning the train reached the main army. The next day the Confederates, much elated, attacked the Federals but were severely repulsed. It was thought best to give up the enterprise since the river was falling fast and the gunboats would be useless. When the fleet reached the rapids near Alexandria it was found it could not pass down. This was obviated by the genius of Colonel Bailey, of Wisconsin, who constructed a dam across the river, thus raising the water, and at a signal the dam was loosened and the boats passed safely down on the flood. Thus ended the fruitless expedition.

Mar. The Confederate General Forrest carried on an irregular
24. warfare in Western Kentucky and Tennessee, always treating the Union inhabitants with great cruelty. He captured Union City and its garrison of 450 men ; he also made an attack on Paducah but was repulsed. The same Forrest and his band carried Fort Pillow by assault ; after the fort surrendered, the garrison to the number of 300 were slaughtered in cold blood, because a portion were colored men. Forrest, from his statement of the case, seems to have been at least not altogether responsible for the outrage.

Apr. 12

The successes of General Grant attracted the attention both of the nation and of Congress, which body revived the grade of Lieutenant-General, extinct since the retirement of

General Scott. This was conferred on General Grant; who at once turned over the army at Chattanooga to General W. T. Sherman, and repaired to Washington, whither he had been summoned by telegraph. He was less known personally than any of the department generals; a man of deeds and few words; while a strong vein of common sense in his character gave an earnest he would be equal to emergencies likely to arise.

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3.

At the White House the President, in the presence of his Cabinet and General Halleck, presented him his commission of Lieutenant-General, saying a few words of kindness and expressing his own confidence, then adding: "As the country here trusts you, so, under God, it will sustain you." Grant, after paying a compliment "to the noble Union armies," ended by saying: "I feel the full weight of the responsibilities devolving upon me, and I know if they are met it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

Mar.
9.

He entered immediately upon his duties, visiting the headquarters of General Meade to confer with him, and the next day left for the West and by appointment met Sherman at Nashville to consult with him. Grant believed there could be no substantial peace until the military power of the Confederacy was utterly crushed, and to that purpose he devoted all his energies. As a summary of the position of affairs at this time it may be stated: There were two main armies of the Confederacy—one under Lee defending Richmond, the other under Johnston guarding the approaches to Atlanta, the great strategic point and railroad center of Northwest Georgia; the Mississippi river was patrolled by Union gunboats from St. Louis to its mouth; the line of the Arkansas was held, and all west of the Mississippi north of that stream; in Southern Louisiana a few points not far from the river were held by the Federals, and at the mouth of the Rio Grande was a small garrison; along the Atlantic coast, in addition to the block-

Mar.
10.

CHAP. LXIII.
1864. ade, many important places were held; and on the Gulf, Pensacola and New Orleans. Such was the position when General Grant assumed supreme command. His design was to keep Lee and Johnston so much pressed that they would be unable, as heretofore, to aid each other.

May
9-10. Sherman was ready to move. At Dalton, thirty miles southeast of Chattanooga, was the Confederate army, 30,000 strong, and, by its well-chosen position, equal to twice that number. Here Johnston was waiting to be attacked, when he learned that a portion of the Union army, by a rapid march through passes and gaps, had flanked him upon his left and was threatening the railroad in his rear, while another portion was moving upon his front, and still another on his right was marching round his army; he was therefore compelled to give up his stronghold and fall back eighteen miles to Resaca, another strong position behind Camp Creek, its whole line well fortified on steep hills.

May
13. Sherman reconnoitered and again flanked his adversary. Johnston at one time, thinking he had discovered a weak point in the Union lines, made an attack upon the Twentieth Corps, Hooker's, but was repulsed at all points and driven from several strongholds. Foiled at every attempt, he moved his forces against the Union left flank, and at 7 P. M. the Confederates came in tremendous force and overwhelming numbers upon that point. The Federals were forced back. Suddenly a cheer was heard, and Hooker's Corps came up, and the first intimation they gave the enemy was the cheer, which was followed by a rush over the dead bodies of their comrades. They broke the enemy's line beyond recovery, and drove them more than a mile.

May
16. At 2 next morning the Confederates evacuated Resaca, passing over Oostenaula River and breaking down the bridge behind them, and moved on until they reached the Etowah River, over which they crossed and took position in the mountains around Altoona. On the crest of these mountains were carefully arranged batteries to sweep every approach, and here Johnston resolved to fight a decisive

battle. The Union army came up, but Sherman had no idea of sacrificing his men by assaulting so strong a position, and he flanked Johnston again and compelled him to fall back toward Dallas. When within four miles of that place Hooker's division overtook him. A skirmish began, other divisions came up, and it became a battle severely contested; but at length the Confederates were driven back to where three important roads met. The Union soldiers threw up entrenchments during the night, which Johnston assaulted and was repulsed. The Federals afterward made an assault upon what was deemed a weak point of the enemy's line, and they, too, were repulsed.

The Confederate commander remained quiet for two days, and Sherman ordered a movement to his rear, and Johnston again thought best to fall back to the new position at Kenesaw Mountain, fortifying and extending his line about ten miles; his centre, Pine Mountain, being much advanced. On these mountains the enemy had signal stations, but Sherman's sign-corps soon learned their sign-code and revealed their secrets. Bishop-General Polk, with his staff, came out on the crest of Pine Mountain to reconnoitre. A rifled field-piece was sighted by Captain Simonson, and fired at the group from one of the Union batteries: that shot killed the Bishop. The information was immediately communicated to both armies.

Sherman decided to break the enemy's line at Pine Mountain, the advanced center, and a rapid artillery fire was opened upon it. During the next night Johnston abandoned the mountain. The following day the Union army pressed nearer and nearer, and Johnston retired to Kenesaw Mountain. Now followed several days of rain, and the Federals made but little progress in their approaches. Hood's division of Confederates made an assault upon Hooker's advanced lines early in the morning, driving in the pickets, and came upon the main line behind extemporized breastworks. They were repulsed, leaving the field covered with their dead. Johnston had fortified his

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June
14.

June
17.

June
22.

CHAP. LXIII.
 1864. lines with great care, and Sherman resolved to make approaches and assault them. The assault was made, but failed to carry the point, yet the Union soldiers held their advanced position, and Johnston again evacuated his lines in the night, and retired toward the Chattahoochee River, to a new fortified line on which a thousand or more slaves had been engaged a month. The fortifications along this line of retreat were constructed more or less by the same hands. Sherman followed up, and by flanking his adversary right and left, held the river eighteen miles above and ten miles below him, while Thomas was pressing him in front, and Johnston was compelled to cross the river during the night, burning the bridge and his pontoons, and fell back toward Atlanta, five or six miles distant. Sherman delayed a few days to repair railways and bridges and strengthen important points. When ready he began to move on Atlanta.

The Confederate authorities at Richmond were dissatisfied with Johnston, and he was relieved of his command and General John B. Hood appointed in his place. The latter was incautious to rashness, but full of courage. July 17. "This appointment," says Sherman in his Memoirs, "meant fight." Strong breastworks had been constructed in front and around Atlanta.

About noon, the Union soldiers, having come up within skirmishing distance, halted and were resting, when suddenly the enemy rushed out of their nearest entrenchments, and fell with great fury upon Hooker's corps and a portion of Howard's. The latter extemporized a barrier of fence-rails. July 20. After two hours fighting the assailants were forced to retire to their entrenchments, having lost more than 4,000, killed and wounded, and accomplished nothing except to teach the Union army to be on its guard. The Federals, in contracting their lines and cutting communications, seized a hill near the Augusta Railway, from which elevation cannon balls could be thrown into the streets of the city. This

hill the Confederates made a desperate attempt to recover, but were repulsed with loss.

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1864.

The Union army still continued contracting its lines carefully, when about noon the scouts reported the enemy in motion and massing on the Union left. On they came without a note of warning, and the battle raged till dark, with occasionally a gain by the Confederates, but in the main they were repulsed with great loss, and the grasp of the besieging army became still more strong on the doomed city. They made seven assaults during the day, and were as often repulsed, Hood's loss being at least twice as great as Sherman's. In this battle fell McPherson, only thirty years of age, but the most promising of the corps commanders. General O. O. Howard was appointed to succeed McPherson in the command of the Army of the Tennessee.

July
22.

Meanwhile, the Union cavalry was making successful raids around Atlanta, destroying railways; all of which were broken except the Macon and Atlanta.

General Howard's corps was sent round to the right of the city to destroy a railroad. Hood was on the alert, and hurried out to crush the force before it could get assistance. On he came in solid columns, sweeping away the Union pickets; but presently he came in the most reckless manner, with his men crowded together upon the Federals, who were behind breastworks hastily constructed of logs, fence rails and stones. The Union soldiers, deliberately taking aim, swept away line after line of his best men. The proportion of the killed was unusually large. "Six successive charges were made, which were six times gallantly repulsed, each time with fearful loss of life." Hood's lines were about twelve miles in extent, and his fortifications were manned in part by recent levies, that he might use his veterans in the field.

July
28.

Sherman determined at all hazards to break the Macon and Atlanta railway, south of the city, and a large force accomplished the work effectually by burning the ties and heating the rails red hot, and winding them around trees

CHAP. and telegraph poles. Hood, noticing that a large portion
 LXIII. of Sherman's army were gone, thought they were retreating.
 1864. The rumor spread, and the citizens crowded to give him
 Aug. their congratulations, which he was receiving, when a
 28. courier on horseback dashed in and brought the astounding
 news that Sherman had possession of the road, and that
 Hardee, who had been sent with a large force to protect
 Jonesboro, was disastrously defeated.

That night strange noises like earthquakes or explosions
 were heard in the direction of Atlanta. Hood was blowing
 up the magazines and evacuating the place.

Sept. Sherman entered the once beautiful city, now almost
 2. a mass of ruins, and it was telegraphed over the land,
 "Atlanta is ours, and fairly won." Hood's scattered forces
 were afterward more or less united, and he made many
 attempts to annoy the Union army by cutting railroads and
 attacking places garrisoned, but in all these he totally
 failed. Sherman detached General Thomas and his corps
 with other divisions to move on Nashville and repel Hood
 should he make an attempt in that direction. Jefferson
 Davis after the fall of Atlanta visited the region, and at
 Macon encouraged the people by assuring them Sherman
 would yet be driven back, and "our cavalry and our people
 will harass and destroy his army as did the Cossacks that
 of Napoleon ; and the Yankee general like him will escape
 with only a body guard."

Sept.
23.

Sherman in one of his letters to Grant made a sugges-
 tion that it was "futile to chase round after Hood," but,
 leaving Tennessee in the hands of Thomas, "to destroy
 Atlanta and march across Georgia to Savannah or Charles-
 ton, breaking roads and doing irreparable damage ; we
 cannot remain on the defensive." This led to the consid-
 eration of the question more fully, though it would seem a
 similar thought had occurred to Grant ; and preparations
 were made for the "march to the sea." Meantime, Hood
 with his army was hastening on toward middle Tennessee,
 expecting to defeat Thomas.

Sherman now destroyed in Atlanta the public buildings used by the Confederates for military purposes—no private dwellings or churches were designedly injured—and set out to push across the country to the sea, and if need be come in the rear of Richmond. The army marched in two columns with spreading wings—extending sixty miles—so thoroughly bewildering the enemy that they were unable to make much opposition. This bold march ended December 10, within a few miles of Savannah, and soon communication was had with the Union fleet which was in waiting. Three days later Fort McAllister, the defense of Savannah, was taken, and General Hardee in consequence evacuated the city, which was immediately occupied by Union forces. Sherman sent the following dispatch to President Lincoln: “I beg leave to present, as a Christmas gift, the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, and also 25,000 bales of cotton.”

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LXIII.

1864.

Nov.
16.Dec.
20.

The army, when thus cut loose from depots of provisions, was forced to depend for sustenance upon the country through which it passed, and strict orders were given to prevent outrages on the people. “Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants, or commit any trespass;” when needed to replace those injured, foraging parties were permitted to take “horses, mules and wagons,” “discriminating, however, between the rich, who usually were hostile, and the poor and industrious, usually neutral or friendly;” “to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance;” and “to refrain from abusive or threatening language.”¹ Complaints have been made that these orders were, in some instances, not fully carried out; but there is no evidence that their violation was connived at by the higher officers in command, but that the marauders were punished when detected.

¹ Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II. p. 175.

CHAPTER LXIV.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

Grant's choice of subordinates.—Battles in the Wilderness.—Butler at Bermuda Hundreds.—Flanking Movement.—Early in the Valley.—Sheridan in the Valley.—Sheridan's ride.—The Mine Exploded.—Capture of Mobile.—Outrages in Missouri.—Capture of Wilmington.—Battle of Nashville.—Defeat of Hood.

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1864.

WE now return to the Army of the Potomac. Arrangements were in preparation for the final struggle. General B. F. Butler was assigned to the general supervision of the force designed to follow up the James to Richmond, and to make a diversion toward Petersburg. He had about 30,000 men, under the command of Generals W. F. Smith and Gilmore—the latter had been recalled from Charleston Harbor with 10,000 men. General Sigel was in command in that famous battle-field of the war—Shenandoah Valley—in connection with General Crook on the Kanawha, West Virginia; General Meade, the hero of Gettysburg, with the main army on the north bank of the Rapidan.

General Grant always showed great skill and knowledge of men in the choice of subordinate officers; nor did he ever seem to be influenced by professional jealousy. He brought with him to Washington only three or four staff officers—no more than were absolutely necessary. The general plan of campaigns was marked out, and he availed himself of the skill of his subordinate commanders, who, in the details, were permitted to exercise their own judgment in accordance with the general plan. Some of the best suggestions of generals in the field were frequently disregarded by Halleck, the commander-in-chief at Washington, as if

he knew better—though hundreds of miles away—than the equally educated commander in the field. We must not overlook the private soldiers composing the armies of the Republic. They were intelligent and understood how much was involved in the contest; with this knowledge they had left their homes, and were willing to risk their lives in defense of the Union of their country, and frequently the superior intelligence, the bravery and dash of private soldiers crowned with success important maneuvers.

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1863.

Lee's army lay on the South side of the Rapidan, virtually entrenched in the "Wilderness." This is a barren region, covered with scrub-oak and tufted trees, where a thousand soldiers could keep four times their number at bay. This was intersected by many narrow cross roads, bounded on either side by a perfect jungle. The whole district and every road was thoroughly known to the Confederate generals; and Lee from his position and knowledge of the ground was thus able to throw, as he wished, a strong force on any particular point.

The Union army crossed the Rapidan at Germana Ford unopposed—purposely, says Childe, in order to secure a battle in the "Wilderness." Grant had intended to pass rapidly through the wilderness, with as little fighting as possible, and force his adversary back toward Richmond, because in that jungle he could not deploy his men, and could only use about twenty out of his three hundred pieces of artillery; neither could he use his cavalry. Early the next morning the Union army began its onward march to get beyond this labyrinth of trees, when it was met at two points by two Confederate forces brought up by parallel roads. This was at first thought to be a feint, but at 11 A.M. the battle began in earnest by the Union soldiers assaulting the enemy. The conflict of this day was peculiar. The soldiers groped for each other through the thicket, and with various successes in different parts of the woods. It was a drawn battle—then both armies lay on their arms.

May
4.

May
5.

CHAP.
LXIV.1864.
May
6.

After receiving reports from his subordinates, Grant issued orders for attacking the enemy the next morning, and at dawn Hancock's division, sustained by Wadsworth, fell furiously on the Confederate center, and after a few hours drove it a mile and a half, taking many prisoners. They were now reinforced, outnumbering Hancock, and in turn forced him back over the same ground, but at 11 A.M. he made a stand from which the enemy failed to move him. Here fell General Wadsworth, a gentleman of excellent worth, and high social position; and here also fell the Confederate Generals Jones, Jenkins and Stafford, very efficient officers. There was a lull for some hours, when the enemy at 4 P.M. made a desperate assault upon Hancock, and partially forced him from his position, but being reinforced the assailants were in turn driven back. Here Longstreet was severely wounded, and carried from the field, and Lee himself took immediate command. He restored order, but could not retrieve the field.

May
9-10.

When the Union center advanced the next morning, Lee was found to have fallen back to a second position strongly entrenched. This line of battle was six miles long, along which raged the conflict; Lee fell back again and afterward fought only from behind breastworks, except where it could not be avoided. The Confederates were evidently discouraged, and when a portion of the Union army moved by night toward Spottsylvania Court House, Lee fell back lest he should be taken in the rear. Now commenced a series of conflicts in one of which General Sedgwick, one of the first of the corps commanders, was killed.

May
11.

Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of war: "we have now ended the sixth day of very heavy fighting. The result, to this time, is much in our favor. I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

May
12.

The following morning at 4 o'clock, in a dense fog, the orders were given as quietly as possible, and the march was in silence. Hancock made a dash at an advanced position of the enemy, rushed over the breastwork, and captured the

two Generals, Johnson and Stewart, and nearly 4,000 prisoners, and thirty guns. Hancock moved on and captured a second line of rifle pits; this brought on a general battle which lasted all day, the latter part in the midst of a violent rain-storm.

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1864.

Grant now delayed to move for several days, in order that the wounded could be sent to hospitals. A large number of surgeons arrived from the North, and members of both the Sanitary and Christian Commissions to take care of these wounded; also reinforcements and supplies came up.

General Sheridan set out at daylight with a large force of cavalry, moving toward Fredericksburg to deceive the enemy; then southward along the Confederate right, reached the railroad in their rear and destroyed ten miles of it, locomotives, trains of cars, and an immense amount of provisions, and released 400 captured Union soldiers. He pursued his way, burning depots and breaking railroads. At length he fell in with that chivalrous raider J. E. B. Stuart; they came to blows and the Confederates were defeated, leaving their commander, Stuart, mortally wounded. Pushing on, Sheridan came upon the outer defenses of Richmond itself. These he took, but found the second line too strong; he retired rapidly to and across the Chickahominy, and after a raid of five days returned to the army. This raid, in its effects, was one of the most important in the war.

May
19.

General Butler put his forces on transports and landed them at a plantation named Bermuda Hundreds, and then fortified his position. Then he sent a force, which after severe fighting destroyed a railroad bridge and a portion of the track seven miles North of Petersburg; the force captured some entrenchments at the railroad. Beauregard was in command, and under the cover of a dense fog he made a vigorous attack on the advance, and compelled them to fall back to Bermuda Hundreds, and then threw up entrenchments paralleled to Butler's and prevented his moving.

May
24.

May
6.

The Union army by a flank movement came upon the

May
16.

CHAP. North bank of the North Anna; Lee was found strongly
LXIV.
1864. posted beyond the river; for three days Grant made demon-
strations and then in the night commenced flanking his
adversary, and Lee was again compelled to abandon his
position and fall back; all the Union army passed the
Pamunkey river and moved on three miles toward Rich-
mond.

June 3. Here the Confederates made a sudden attack in great
force, but were repulsed with loss. Then Grant, to test
their works, ordered an assault along the whole line. This
was vigorously done, and the enemy were driven out of
their first defenses and took shelter behind their second
line. These were too strongly fortified to be easily taken.
The Confederates during the day made wild charges against
the Union lines, but in every instance were repulsed with
loss. Lee ordered attacks on three successive nights on
the Union lines. Every one failed and his army sustained
heavy losses. These night attacks showed the desperation
of the enemy and the watchfulness of the Federals, who
were never surprised. By agreement there was now an
armistice of two hours, in which both parties buried their
dead and removed their wounded.

June 7. General Grant, finding the fortifications very strong in
front, determined to unite with Butler and move on Rich-
mond by way of Petersburg, twenty-two miles south of the
former. According to Childe, Lee deemed Richmond more
assailable from this direction than from the north. This
movement took the enemy by surprise, as it was accom-
plished with so much celerity and with scarcely any diffi-
culty. A portion of the troops passed by water down the
York and up the James, and the remainder by land, cross-
ing the James on pontoon bridges. Meantime an impor-
tant cavalry raid, under Generals Wilson and Kautz, was
conducted south of Richmond, destroying a portion of the
Weldon Railroad and the Southside and Danville—in all
about seventy miles, with rolling stock and depots—and
June 28. then, after severe fighting, returned to the army, having

lost their light artillery. “The damage done the enemy in this expedition more than compensated for the loss sustained.”

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1864.

Meanwhile General Sigel, who was in command in Shenandoah Valley with too small a force—8,000 men—was defeated by Breckenridge; General Crook, in West Virginia, failing to coöperate with Sigel. General Hunter was appointed in Sigel's place, and he was ordered to move up the valley and destroy railroads in the vicinity of Staunton and Gordonsville, and General Crook was to come in from the Kanawha. Hunter hastened on and met the enemy within twelve miles of Staunton, and after a conflict of ten hours routed them, capturing 1,500 prisoners; their commander, General Jones, was killed. Hunter lost only fifty men. Three days later he occupied Staunton. Now joined by Crook's troops, he marched toward Lynchburg, to which place Lee had sent a large force by the railway. Hunter's ammunition had given out, and he, skirmishing on the way with the enemy, fell back, not toward Grant's army as was expected, and from which Sheridan made a raid in order to meet him, but toward West Virginia. This retreat left the valley once more open to the Confederates, who, under General Early, pushed on in force to make a raid into Maryland and Pennsylvania to obtain forage and supplies, and as usual make a demonstration against Washington and induce Grant to send reinforcements from his army. The latter promptly sent troops from the James, and ordered others to follow who had just arrived in Hampton Roads from New Orleans.

May
15.

June
5.

Early, with about 20,000 men, moved rapidly down the valley to Martinsburg, where Sigel was in command with a small force. The latter retreated across the Potomac. The enemy followed rapidly, and crossing over arrived at Hagerstown; the citizens paying them \$20,000 they agreed not to burn the town. General Lew Wallace attacked the invaders so vigorously with his Union raw levies as to retard them until more troops arrived; then he, being still

July
3.

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1864.

outnumbered, fell back, and the Confederates moved toward Washington; but being met by the bold attacks of General Auger they retired across the Potomac, and were in turn pursued by Averill with cavalry, who overtook their rear guard at Winchester and captured 500 prisoners.

By this time Hunter had arrived from West Virginia, and was ordered to maintain his position, but Early was reinforced and again began to move down the valley, forcing the Union troops back by outflanking them.

At this time another Confederate cavalry raid was made into Pennsylvania under McClausland; he suddenly appeared before the village of Chambersburg, then defenceless, and demanded \$500,000 ransom. The citizens were unable to raise so large a sum, and the raiders deliberately set the village on fire and burned two-thirds of it. In no instance, as far as known, did the Union soldiers purposely burn the private dwellings of a village.

Aug.
5.

General Grant, to satisfy himself, hastened from City Point to confer with General Hunter, and directed him to pursue the Confederates up the valley and "*to keep the enemy in sight*"; to sweep the valley clean of provisions that might aid them, but protect private buildings as far as possible. Hunter expressed a desire to be relieved; Grant accepted the resignation and appointed Sheridan to succeed him, and formed the "Military Department of West Virginia, Washington, and Shenandoah Valley."

Sept.
15.

Sheridan soon inspired his men with his own enthusiasm, and, being reinforced both by infantry and cavalry, he prepared to act promptly. Grant visited Sheridan to assure himself, and after an interview he was assured that the young commander understood himself and the enemy, and his simple order was, "Go in." In two days Sheridan moved, and, early in the morning, attacked Early, and after fighting all day carried his entire position and drove him through Winchester. Early lost 3,500 killed and wounded and 5,000 prisoners, and he did not dare stop till he reached Fisher's Hill, thirty miles south of Winchester.

Sept.
19.

Scarcely had he halted to rest his men when the indomitable Sheridan pounced upon him, driving his forces through Harrisonburg and Staunton and scattering them through the gaps of the Blue Ridge. Sheridan sent forward his cavalry to destroy a portion of the Virginia Central Railway, and then fell back to Cedar Creek to rest and refresh his men.

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1864.

Sept.
22.

About a month later Early gathered his scattered forces, and, being heavily reinforced, moving rapidly and secretly, he, early in the morning, fell suddenly upon the sleeping Union soldiers, who were completely taken by surprise, but soon recovered themselves and sullenly fell back. Sheridan was at Winchester, twenty miles distant, when his ear first caught the faint roar of booming cannon. Suspecting what was going on, he mounted his horse and rode at full speed, and met his men retreating, they having been driven four miles. He dashed into their midst, and, waving his hat, exclaimed, "Face the other way, boys; we are going back!" Inspired by his presence, his men, with loud cheers, faced about and fell into line. The enemy, for the most part, had stopped to plunder the Federal camp. The Union cavalry, meanwhile, moved round and attacked them in flank, while the encouraged infantry charged in front. They were in a short time completely routed and driven from the field, abandoning everything; neither did they stop until they reached Staunton. Thus ended Confederate efforts to hold the valley or to invade the North. General Grant telegraphed to the Secretary of War: "This glorious victory stamps Sheridan, what I have always thought him, one of the ablest of generals." Sheridan was appointed by the President a Major-General in the regular army in place of General McClellan, who had recently resigned.

Oct.
19.

Nov.
8.

Colonel Henry Pleasants, of the Pennsylvania Volunteers, a practical miner, proposed to mine a certain point in the enemy's works before Petersburg. The proposition was accepted and the work commenced. In less than a month

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 1864. it was finished. It extended several hundred feet, and terminated directly under a redoubt. In the mine was placed
 June 25. four tons of powder. It was a success, and was exploded with terrible effect, tearing the redoubt to pieces; but unfortunately, by some mismanagement, the explosion was not
 July 3. followed up by assault, as it ought to have been, and nothing of value was accomplished.

Around Petersburg the defenses were so well arranged and so well manned that it was madness to throw away human life in assaulting them, as one man within such entrenchments was at least equal to five outside. The
 Aug. 18. Union army was not idle. A strong detachment seized Weldon Railway, and held it in spite of the most strenuous efforts on the part of the enemy to dislodge them. Several other movements were made, but without material success—
 Oct. 27. one on the north side of the James, and another at Hatcher's Run.

The capture of Mobile—the main port for blockade runners on the Gulf—had been delayed for lack of coöperation on the part of land forces. At length it was undertaken by Admiral Farragut with his iron-clads and war ships, and General Canby, detached from New Orleans for the purpose. The expedition arrived, and arrangements
 July 8. were made on board the flag-ship, the *Hartford*, with General Canby. Mobile Bay is thirty miles long and twelve miles wide, and was defended by several strong forts, and within were floating the Confederates' main reliance, the ram *Tennessee* and several iron-clads—all under Rear-Admiral Buchanan—besides numerous dangerous torpedoes. The troops were landed on the west side of Dauphine Island, on the west side of the Bay, to operate against Fort
 Aug. 5. Gaines.

At 4.45 A.M. the fleet, each vessel having another lashed to it, steamed in between the forts and gave their broadsides at short distance. Admiral Farragut, lashed to the maintop of the *Hartford*, had the fleet under his eye, and gave his commands by signals. The monitor *Tecumseh*,

which was to attack the ram *Tennessee*, ran foul of a torpedo and was sunk. Then the Admiral himself turned his attention to the ram. Several vessels ran butt against the *Tennessee*, and poured in their broadsides at short range. Finally the *Hartford* bore down and gave her a broadside of nine-inch solid shot. The *Tennessee* surrendered; Fort Gaines also hauled down its colors. On the east side of the Bay Fort Morgan held out, and was opened upon; after a bombardment of fifteen hours, it ran up the white flag. This closed the port of Mobile to English blockade runners. As the city was strongly fortified, it was not worth the investment.

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1864.

Aug.
23.

General Rosecrans was assigned to the command in Missouri, his headquarters at St. Louis. This State was infested by disloyal secret societies, and so many soldiers had been sent to reinforce the armies in Northern Georgia that it was stripped of its defenders. Bands of bushwhackers were prowling over the State murdering and pillaging. In one instance they seized a railroad train on which were twenty-two unarmed and sick Union soldiers; these were taken out and shot! Sterling Price took the opportunity to invade the State in which he was once honored as Governor. General Pleasanton, with a force of Union cavalry, pursued and overtook him at Big Blue, crushed his force, and Price fled still farther south, and made another stand at the Little Osage. There he was most disastrously defeated, losing all his guns and 1,000 prisoners. So eager were some of the Union soldiers to catch him that they rode one hundred and two miles in thirty-six hours. This was the last of the enemy's raids into Missouri; and the land had rest.

Jan.
20.

Oct.
22.

Oct.
28.

Wilmington, N. C., was defended by Fort Fisher, which commanded the harbor. This place became most important for blockade runners, and the Government resolved to capture the forts and break up this contraband trade. The first expedition failed by mismanagement, and the second captured Fort Fisher, after hard fighting, with its garrison

Jan.
15.

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 1864.
 Feb. 22. and entire armament. Two days afterward the Confederates blew up Fort Caswell. This gave the Union navy complete control of the river, much to the grief of the English blockade runners. The Union forces took possession of Wilmington.

When Sherman set out for the seaboard, Hood moved northward with an army of 35,000 men, he confronted Thomas's cavalry which checked him near Florence, Alabama, and continued to skirmish before him as he advanced. It was rumored that Hood intended to invade middle Tennessee; numerous expeditions both of Confederate and Federal cavalry were made during the months of October and November. Thomas, meanwhile, was fortifying Nashville, and having the control of the Cumberland river by means of eight gunboats he was at no loss for provisions. General Schofield, who fell back slowly in order to gain time, made a halt at Franklin, his men at once with spade and axe entrenching themselves. This had become a custom with the Union soldiers, their aptness enabled them to throw up breastworks in an almost incredibly short time. Hood assaulted these defenses of logs and earth several times, and was as often repulsed with great loss; he had 1,750 killed and 3,800 wounded while Schofield had only 189 killed and 1,033 wounded. Schofield fell back, in accordance with orders, to Nashville; the next day Hood's cavalry came up and the day after the infantry; their progress was arrested by a series of fortifications on the hills around the city.

Nov. 30.
 Dec. 3.

Much uneasiness was felt in the country because Thomas did not attack Hood, and even Grant was on the eve of relieving him of command.

Dec. 15. When ready the sure but cautious Thomas moved out of Nashville, a heavy fog—which did not lift till noon—favoring secrecy, with all his troops in order. A heavy demonstration was made against Hood's right by General Stedman, by which movement Hood was deceived, and sent reinforcements from his left and center. Then at the proper moment

Generals Smith and Wilson swung round and attacked the weak point and carried every thing before them ; in one instance, the cavalry dismounted and carried a redoubt sabre in hand, then a second redoubt the same troops carried in the same manner. Then Montgomery Hill, Hood's most advanced position, was carried and many prisoners captured. Thus the Confederates were driven out of their original line of works and forced back along the base of Harpeth Hills, a new position. The result of the day was the capture of 1,200 prisoners and sixteen pieces of artillery, arms and wagons ; the Union loss was light.

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1864.

The Federal army bivouacked on the field, and prepared to drive the enemy on the morrow. At 6 A.M. they drove back the enemy's skirmishers, and came upon a line of works constructed during the night on Overton's hill. Thomas soon arranged his men with a purpose,* and felt of the enemy along their lines, then about 3 P.M. ordered an assault on Overton's hill. This was in full sight of Hood, who sent reinforcements from his right and center. The columns moved to the assault, and thoroughly drew the enemy's fire, but they were finally compelled to fall back to be reformed. The signal was given and then upon the Confederate right and center, thus weakened, rushed the Union forces under Smith and Schofield, and carried all before them with the greatest impetuosity. Meanwhile, the assaulting columns—having been reformed—for the second time moved upon Overton's hill, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. In this assault the colored troops behaved with great bravery. The whole Confederate line was broken beyond recovery; the pursuit continued till dark. This was a most disastrous defeat. From Hood's entrance till his retreat from Tennessee he lost at least 24,000 men and 53 pieces of artillery. The desertions from his ranks were enormous ; so that the power of the rebellion in the West was now broken forever.

Dec.
16.

Breckenridge was detailed by the Confederate authorities to move into East Tennessee, especially to capture

Nov.
13.

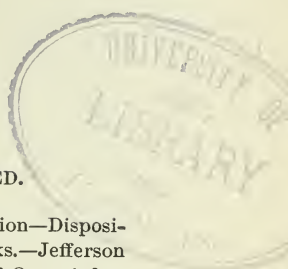
CHAP. Knoxville. He had some success at first, but General
LXIV. Stoneman, then at Louisville, was sent to take command,
1864. and in the short space of four days he drove the Confederate forces out of that portion of the State. The Union men of East Tennessee suffered terribly in this war, but with heroic courage, and amid disappointments the most discouraging, they maintained their integrity and loyalty to the government founded by their fathers. Nor would we depreciate, but rather extol, the courage, the perseverance and the self-denial of those other Southern men who, though misguided, met the Federals on many a battle-field, and with them displayed equal courage.

Unfortunately the mass of the Southern people, especially in the rural portions of the country, were not fully informed on the questions at issue. Certain leaders called into existence prejudices against the people of the free States, by representing them as hostile to the interests of the South, while at the same time they urged their own extreme theories in respect to State sovereignty; on these points this class of the Southern people had opportunity to hear only one side, and from these partial statements a portion of them came honestly to believe they had a right to secede from the Union. It was also a singular feature of this contest that so great numbers of private soldiers were drawn by conscription¹ from the ranks of those who never owned slaves, and who instinctively opposed a war designed to protect and extend that system; and who also, upon every occasion, when the question was fairly presented, voted against secession. Though thus forced into the army they fought bravely, and not till utterly exhausted did they succumb. The women of the South, likewise, displayed heroic fortitude, aided their own soldiers, and, in the midst of trials almost unparalleled, cheered them by the example of their own self-sacrificing labors.

¹ Hist. p. 943.

CHAPTER LXV.

LINCOLN'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.



Grant's design.—Platforms of Parties.—Second Inauguration.—Disposition of Union forces.—Lee's Plans—Battle of Five Forks.—Jefferson Davis Flees.—Lee Surrenders.—Richmond on Fire and Occupied.—Johnston's Surrender.—The Assassination.—The Funeral.—Andrew Johnson.—The Interview between Mr. Lincoln and Grant and Sherman.—Union Loss in the Rebellion.—Blockade Raised.—The Old Flag on Sumter.—Amnesty Proclamation—English Cruisers.—Alabama and Kearsage.—Lord John Russell's Protest.—Louis Napoleon.—No French Blockade Runners.—Provisional Governors.—Telegraph—Reconstruction.—Impeachment Trial.—Presidential Election.

WE now return to before Richmond. The victory of Thomas and the advance of Sherman toward the coast had given a sad aspect to the Confederate cause. It was Grant's design to keep Lee and his forces in and around Richmond till such time as he could be captured with his whole army, as he might possibly retreat by Lynchburg to south western Virginia or to western North Carolina, and protract the war still further.

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The platforms of the two parties, Republican and Democratic, may be taken as exponents of their political views during this Presidential canvass. The former said: "We approve the determination of the government not to compromise with rebels, nor to offer any terms of peace except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility, and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States." And "as slavery was the cause of this rebellion," and used for its aid, the Convention expressed itself in favor of an amendment to the Constitution that should forever prohibit slavery in the United States. The Convention also approved the Emancipation Proclamation and the "employment as Union

CHAP. soldiers of men hitherto held in slavery"; and "that the
LXV. national faith, pledged for the redemption of the public
1864. debt, must be kept inviolate."

The Democratic Convention resolved "That this Convention does explicitly declare that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war, that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to a Convention of all the States, or other peaceable means to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." The Convention was silent in respect to slavery and the payment of the public debt. Mr. Lincoln was elected; only three States cast their votes for McClellan.

Why the Confederates did not submit with as good grace as they could after their defeat at Gettysburg and the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson—all within ten days—is one of the marvels of this marvelous rebellion. They were expecting the Democratic party to come into power in 1864, which they deemed more favorable to them. Says Childe: "The choice assured the election of Mr. Lincoln, and the defeat of General McClellan, who was regarded as more favorable to the Southerners." The inconsiderate boast was made again and again by some of their leaders that they would never submit, but as guerrillas take to the fastnesses of the mountains. Under the circumstances this was nothing short of madness. Had they been fighting against a people of different race and civilization, such sentiments might savor of patriotism.

On the Fourth of March Mr. Lincoln entered upon his second Presidential term. In the course of his inaugural he uses the following striking language: "Fondly do we hope, personally do we pray, that the scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills it to continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every

drop of blood drawn by the lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so, still it must be said, that the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether." Further on he indicates his purpose, saying: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right."

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1864.

Dispositions were now made of the Union forces that would in a short campaign break the Confederacy to pieces. Sheridan from the valley was to move toward Lynchburg, destroying James River Canal and railroads; and Stoneman to move from East Tennessee with a cavalry force of 5,000; one from Vicksburg, 7,000 or 8,000 strong, to sweep through Northern Mississippi; one from East Port, Miss., numbering 10,000; General Canby, from Mobile, with a mixed army of 38,000, to move on Tuscaloosa, Selma and Montgomery; and 5,000 cavalry were to start from Nashville. These movements were to be simultaneous as much as possible.

Of these, Sheridan was the first to move. He left Winchester with two divisions of cavalry each 5,000 strong. Passing up the valley, entered Staunton; the enemy retreated, and he pushed on in pursuit to find them in force under General Early in an intrenched position at Waynesboro. Without waiting to reconnoiter, he assaulted the works and carried them, and secured 1,500 prisoners and eleven pieces of artillery. Thence his men rode to Charlottesville, making havoc of railroads and bridges, toward Lynchburg and Richmond, moving along the James River Canal, destroying locks and cutting the banks to let out the water, then passed around and north of Richmond and joined the army before Petersburg. This was the most effective cavalry raid of the war.

1865.
Feb.
27.

Mar.
3.

Mar.
24.

Lee had laid plans to evacuate both Petersburg and Richmond, and unite near Danville with the force of Johnston, who was to fall back from before Sherman's advance. To cover this movement he made a vigorous attack on

CHAP. Grant's army, intending when it was in confusion to march
LXV. rapidly by the Cox road toward Danville. Accordingly
1865. Confederate troops under General Gordon, at daylight,
Mar. furiously assaulted Fort Stedman, a point in the Union
25. lines. The garrison were surprised by the suddenness of the
attack, and were overpowered. The triumph was short.
The neighboring Union forts poured in their shot so incessantly that in a short time Gordon's troops, 2,000 in all, were forced to surrender. General Meade now ordered forward the Second and Sixth Corps, who seized the Confederate well-intrenched picket line, securing a large number of prisoners. On the extreme Federal left a similar move was made with similar success. At 2 P.M. Lee made an effort to regain these lines, but his forces were repulsed in every attempt, and with great loss. To make a junction with Johnston was now impossible.

Grant at once resolved to attack the enemy and cut off their retreat by the Danville road. In preparation he secretly sent troops to his extreme left and gave orders to Sheridan to move on Dinwiddie Court House. Lee learned of these movements, and suspecting the design threw 17,000 of his best men to the support of his right. A severe storm of rain retarded operations for two days. Lee endeavored to use his accustomed tactics of throwing a large force upon a weak point, and in this battle of White Oak road he gained advantage at first, but only to be beaten off; and finally the Federal troops carried the very earth-works from which the enemy issued, and obtained possession of the road.

Mar.
28.

Mar.
31.

Lee had fortified Five Forks—a crossing where five roads meet—a strategic point of great importance, by which was his only way of retreat. Toward this place both armies made their way. When the Union cavalry reached Five Forks they found the enemy in position and were compelled to fall back. The Confederates at once pushed on vigorously, and fording a stream attacked Sheridan's left center and drove it back; but presently a fresh brigade, by

a gallant onset, checked their advance for a time. Sheridan dismounted his cavalry and managed them so skillfully as to repel the attack at every point. At dark the Confederates withdrew to their entrenchments at Five Forks, where Lee had concentrated his forces. The control of the coming battle was entrusted to Sheridan, who was on the field, by Generals Grant and Meade. The former promptly made dispositions of his troops, and in the early morning commenced the attack. The Union force under General Merritt drove the Confederates in front of them to the Five Forks skirmish line, then by impetuous attacks they were by two P.M. driven within their main works. Sheridan in his report says: "The enemy were driven from their strong line of works and completely routed; the Fifth Corps doubling up their left flank in confusion and the cavalry of General Merritt dashing on to the White Oak road, capturing their artillery and turning it upon them, and riding into their broken ranks so demoralized them that they made no serious stand after their line was carried, but took to flight in disorder." The Confederates were pursued six miles, and lost, besides the killed and wounded, between five and six thousand prisoners.

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Apr
1.

The following night was made hideous by a constant bombardment along the whole Union line, and at 4 A.M. Sunday, a combined assault was successfully made upon the enemy's works and the South Side Railroad was seized. The Confederates, driven on their left by Meade and by Sheridan on their right, were broken, and in great confusion rushed in a mass westward by the main road along the bank of the Appomattox.

Apr
2.

The following night was one of terror in Richmond. At the last moment the citizens were convinced that their city must fall into the hands of the Federal troops. Jefferson Davis had already gone. When in church in the afternoon he received a telegram from Lee, stating that his army had been driven from their fortifications, and Petersburg was occupied, and he must evacuate Richmond. Lee was

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Apr.
“

moving toward the Danville road, in hopes to form a junction with Johnston, who, at his instance, had been put in command of the Confederates hastily concentrated to oppose Sherman. It was of vast importance that both Lee's and Johnston's armies should be captured and the war ended. At length, when Lee was completely surrounded, General Grant sent a note under a flag of truce to him, saying, “I regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood by asking of you the surrender of the army under your command.” Several communications passed between the opposing generals. Finally Grant wrote, “The terms upon which peace can be had are well understood. By the South laying down their arms they will hasten that most desirable event, save thousands of human lives, and hundreds of millions of property not yet destroyed.” An interview was held between the two commanders. The result was the Confederates laid down their arms, and were paroled as prisoners of war and permitted to return to their homes. “The victors were magnanimous: they abstained from every appearance of insult toward the vanquished. Abundant victuals were distributed to the prisoners, who were dying of hunger.”

Apr.
9.

On Monday, April 4th, about noon, General Weitzel occupied Richmond, which was in a sad condition, on fire, and in the hands of thieves and robbers. The Union soldiers, as so often before, used their efforts to extinguish the flames and arrest the plundering. Both of these were accomplished by night, when peace and order once more reigned. Thus it was, from the wanton burning of Hampton village to the firing of Richmond, the private property of the Southern people suffered from the insane folly of her leaders. General Ewell, commanding the rear guard of the Confederate army, destroyed the bridges over the James river, and then, obeying his instructions to the letter, but against the earnest protest of the mayor and principal citizens, set on fire warehouses and flour-mills. Says Pollard,

“The warehouses were fired; the flames seized on the neighboring buildings, and soon involved a wide and widening area. The conflagration passed beyond control, and in this mad fire, this wild, unnecessary destruction of private property, the citizens of Richmond had a fitting souvenir of the imprudence and recklessness of the departing administration.”

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Jefferson Davis paused in his flight at Danville, Virginia, to issue a proclamation; after alluding to the abandonment of Petersburg and Richmond he says: “Virginia, with the help of the people, and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her territory.” A little more than a month afterward, he was captured while in disguise attempting to escape. He was brought to Fortress Monroe and there imprisoned under an indictment for treason, but his trial was postponed from time to time, and finally he was released on bail. When the Union troops arrived at Columbia, South Carolina, they found the place evacuated by Wade Hampton, who before leaving had ordered the cotton stored in the place to be burned, much of it in bales in the street; the Union soldiers labored to put out the fire and thought they were successful, but at night came up a high wind, the smouldering fire revived and spread in spite of the Provost Marshal and his soldiers; the greater portion of the beautiful village was burned.

May
11.

1867.

General Sherman pressed on Johnston, and having received the news of the surrender of Lee, he moved from Goldsboro to Raleigh, the capital of the State, which place was occupied, much to the relief of the inhabitants, who were being pillaged by desperadoes from their own army. Johnston also had heard of Lee's surrender, and sent a flag of truce to Sherman asking an armistice preliminary to a surrender; a conference was held by the two commanders and an arrangement made for the surrender of Johnston's army; this was so far modified by the authorities at Washington as to conform to the conditions on which Lee

1865.
Apr.
17.

CHAP. had surrendered. The other Confederate armies through-
 LXV. out the South submitted, Kirby Smith in Texas being the
 1865. last; and thus the greatest rebellion in history collapsed.

In the midst of the rejoicings at the downfall of Lee and capture of Richmond, and the sure anticipation of the fate of Johnston's army, the President was assassinated by John
 Apr. Wilkes Booth; a violent sympathiser with the rebellion,
 14. though of Northern birth. Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were seated in a private box in a theater when the fatal shot was fired, at about half past nine in the evening; Mr. Lincoln lingered till twenty minutes past seven the following morning. Never before did the nation manifest such intense grief as this event produced. The sorrow of the army was striking and remarkable; yet those noble men in the midst of their grief never whispered of retaliation in any form. Says General Johnston in relation to the bearing of the Union army after his own surrender, and just after the assassination became known: "The Union soldiers treated the people around them as they would have done those of Ohio or New York if stationed among them as their fellow citizens."¹

Mr. Lincoln had endeared himself to all, even to great numbers of his political opponents, by his self devotion and kindness of heart, and that rare combination of talent and common sense which made him equal to any emergency in which he might be placed. In him the Southern people lost their best friend: and that truth the intelligent among them recognized. The remains of the Martyr President were carried to Springfield, Illinois, his former place of residence. It was an immense funeral procession, lasting for fourteen days; the people along the route thronging in crowds to pay honor to his memory. He was laid in his last resting place on the 4th of May.

It would seem the conspirators aimed at the same time to assassinate the members of the Cabinet. The attempt was made to kill Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, who at the

¹Military Narrative, p. 419.

time was confined to his room by illness. The assassin failed though he wounded Mr. Seward, and also his son Frederick W., assistant Secretary.

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1865.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Andrew Johnson, by virtue of his office as Vice-President, and in accordance with the law, assumed the duties of President of the United States. He was a native of Raleigh, North Carolina; thence removed to Greenville, Tennessee. In his youth his education had been much neglected, not even knowing the alphabet at the age of seventeen; but by his energy and perseverance he not only educated himself but won the respect of his fellow citizens, who elected him alderman, then Mayor; then their representative in the Legislature, then to Congress and finally Governor of the State.

Apr.
15.

Booth escaped by leaping from the box to the stage, and then by a side door to the street, where a horse was in readiness, which he mounted and rode rapidly away, accompanied by an accomplice named Harold. He was pursued vigorously, and a few days afterward was traced to a barn in lower Maryland, and when it was surrounded he was ordered to surrender, but refused, though Harold gave himself up. Booth, in desperation, resolved to sell his life dearly, but before he could do harm he was shot down by Sergeant Corbett, one of his pursuers. Others of the conspirators were arrested, tried by court martial, four of them were found guilty and hanged, and the three accomplices were sentenced to imprisonment for life.

July
7.

In an interview between President Lincoln and Generals Grant and Sherman, on board a steamer at City Point, Virginia, the two generals gave as their opinion that one more bloody battle would have to be fought before the power of the rebellion could be broken. Mr. Lincoln, with deep emotion, exclaimed more than once, "That there had been blood enough shed, and asked if another

Mar.
28.

CHAP. battle could not be avoided." The answer was, "That
 LXV. depended on Jefferson Davis and General Lee." During
 1865. the interim Mr. Lincoln said, "All he wanted for us was
 to defeat the opposing armies, and to get the men com-
 posing the Confederate armies back to their homes, at
 work on their farms and in their shops," "and restore all
 the men of both sections to their homes." In accordance
 with this sentiment General Grant, as soon as Lee surren-
 dered, advised the reduction of the armies, that the men
 might return to civil life and their duties as citizens; he
 even did not visit Richmond, but hastened to Washington
 to facilitate the disbandment. During the last weeks of
 April and the first of May were witnessed many imposing
 scenes,—the returning soldiers undergoing their last
 reviews before leaving for their distant homes to be mus-
 tered out of the service, and to resume their duties as
 citizens. Such an imposing sight was never before seen of
 armies so large, the soldiers of which had so intelligent a
 view of the great principles for the establishment of which
 they had freely risked their lives in the perils of battle.
 They were greeted by ovations all along their route, and
 welcomed home as the saviors of the Union—that heir-
 loom handed down from the fathers. Yet, also, how sad
 the occasion: amid the joy many an eye filled with tears
 and breast heaved with sorrow for the numbers who went
 at their country's call but who had laid down their lives
 on distant battle-fields. Many a regiment with its full
 complement of men which had set out inspired with hope
 and patriotism, came back with its banners dragged and bat-
 tered by hostile balls, and perhaps with not more than one-
 fourth of its original number.

The following is a record copied from the lists at the
 War Office, at Washington, of the killed and wounded on
 the Union side during the Rebellion:

Killed.....	35,408
Died of wounds.....	49,205
Wounded.....	400,935

¹ Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 526-7.

There has not been kept a perfect roll or list of the Confederate killed and wounded, but the number is estimated at very nearly the same.

The nation incurred a debt of nearly three thousand million dollars, which has been so far paid as to amount now to about two thousand one hundred and twenty-eight millions; the nation having paid of its debt about eight hundred and seventy millions in ten years.

The Government, as soon as it was proper, raised the blockade of the Southern ports and reduced both the army and navy. The men of the army, in a remarkably short time, returned to their homes and families, and entered upon their civil duties with the self-respect natural to those who honestly have performed services in defense of their common country. The immense number of ships, now no longer wanted by the Government, were disposed of to the highest bidders ; all property thus useless was sold, and the proceeds appropriated to paying the debt incurred.

Charleston was evacuated, and the Stars and Stripes once more floated over the city of nullification and secession. The heart of the city had been burned during the bombardment, and "the rebel garrison, when leaving, fired the railroad depots, which fire had spread, and was only subdued by our troops after they had reached the city."¹ On the fourth anniversary of the surrender of Fort Sumter the veritable flag—tattered and torn—which floated over "that fort during the rebel assault" was replaced by Major, now Major-General, Robert Anderson with imposing ceremonies, and was honored by a salute of one hundred national guns "from every fort and rebel battery that fired on Fort Sumter."²

President Johnson issued an amnesty proclamation, in which pardon was offered to all who would take an oath of allegiance to the United States, except certain specified classes who had held offices in the cause of the rebellion.

¹ Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 269.

Sherman's Memoirs, Vol. II., p. 230.

CHAP. On the 4th of July, 1868, the President granted pardon
 LXV.
 1865. unconditionally to all who were not at that time under indictment for treason, and finally, December 25th, he extended pardon to all without exception.

A number of cruisers, among which were the *Alabama*, *Florida*, and the *Georgia*, were fitted out in English shipyards to prey on American commerce, under the flag of the so-called Confederacy—it not having a single port into which they could enter. These vessels were more or less manned by English seamen under Confederate captains, and into whatever port they entered in the British Empire they were welcomed, furnished supplies and armaments, and permitted to make repairs if needed, and also to enlist men if necessary. Though the English Government had issued a proclamation against the reception and aiding these vessels, yet it was a dead letter; neither did the Government itself make an efficient effort to enforce the law or to punish those who violated it. The *Alabama* was built expressly for this purpose, and was permitted to steam out of the Mersey, whence she went to the Azores, and there, by appointment, received her full armament of guns and stores sent from London. Raphael Semmes there took command, with a crew of 26 officers and 85 men, mostly British seamen. She, eluding her pursuers, roamed over the ocean for two years, destroying nearly seventy American vessels; storeships from Liverpool, by arrangement, furnishing her from time to time with war material and provisions. At length she appeared at Cherbourg in France, but the American Minister protested so strenuously that the French Government gave her permission to obtain coal and provisions, but not to use the national navy-yard in which to be repaired. Meanwhile, Captain John A. Winslow, of the United States gunboat *Kearsarge*—lying in a port of Holland—learned that the famous cruiser was at Cherbourg, and he immediately steamed out and soon appeared off that harbor, watching for the cruiser to put to sea. Semmes, finding he could not escape—as the *Kear-*

Aug.
24.

1864.
June
10.

sarge was a swifter vessel than the *Alabama*,—proclaimed that he intended to fight his adversary.

The *Alabama* came out of port and the *Kearsage* steamed ahead seven miles, to get beyond French jurisdiction, and so far that the *Alabama* could not get back to the neutral line—three miles out—before he could over-haul her. At the right time the *Kearsage* turned and made for her antagonist, running at half-speed and only firing one gun for her two; coming within close range, her guns were shotted with shells of five seconds' fuse. The 11-inch shells of the *Kearsage* went through the *Alabama's* starboard and burst in the port side, and between decks, with terrific effect. Five English trained gunners were put on board the *Alabama* the evening before the action, but they seemed to lose their skill, as the *Kearsage* was scarcely injured. In an hour and ten minutes' time the *Alabama* was sinking beyond recovery, and Semmes hauled down his colors. A friendly English yacht was near and Captain Winslow asked the owner to aid in saving the crew of the sinking ship. Semmes was taken on board the yacht which slipped away to Southampton, where much sympathy was expressed for him and his cause.

Under date of April 1, 1864, Lord John Russell, in a communication to Jefferson Davis, as President of the "so-called Confederacy," protested against his employing agents in England to obtain "vessels for war purposes against the United States." Had this protest been made three years before it might have been of benefit, but it was now too late; the mischief was done, and the United States government had a record of all the vessels destroyed by these English-built cruisers, and in due time would demand payment for the damage. This fact the English authorities had already learned.

Though Louis Napoleon seems to have been desirous in some way to act as mediator to stop the "fratricidal strife," and was thought to be unfriendly to the Union, because it was a Republic, yet no Frenchman, as far as

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19.

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1.

CHAP. known, endeavored to advance his pecuniary interest by
 LXV. running the blockade, and thus aiding the enemies of the
 1865. Union by furnishing them the munitions of war.

The slavery question came up again, and Congress pro-
 Dec. posed an amendment to the Constitution (Article XIII.),
 18. by which slavery was to be forever abolished throughout
 the Union. This was ratified by the States—three-fourths
 1866. of the number voting for its adoption—and became a por-
 Apr. tion of the organic law of the land. In order to protect
 9. the Freedmen in their new position the Civil Rights Bill
 was passed over President Johnson's veto.

This year a lawless attempt was made by a society known
 as Fenians who wished to free Ireland from British sway by
 invading Canada. They were driven back after some skir-
 mishing. The President issued a proclamation denouncing
 the enterprise as a violation of neutrality, and cautioning
 all engaged in it to desist. General Meade, who was sent
 to the frontier, soon put an end to the movement.

Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, a native of Massachu-
 setts, then a resident of New York City, in whose univer-
 1844. sity his experiments were first made, gave to the world the
 electric telegraph. It is vain to conjecture the full benefit
 that will accrue to the human family from this invention.
 May it be a harbinger of peace, a link to unite the nations
 in a common union of friendship! The first attempt to
 1857. lay a cable across the Atlantic ocean succeeded, but for
 some unknown cause it ceased to act after a few sentences
 were transmitted. Nine years afterward another cable was
 1866. laid, the enterprise owing its success to the energy of Cyrus
 W. Field, of New York City. Other lines have been laid
 connecting Europe with the United States, while others
 have united us with our southern neighbors. Also sound-
 ings have been made from San Francisco to Japan, across
 1874. the Pacific, and a route on the bed of that ocean found
 feasible for laying a cable.

1865. Congress passed a bill instructing the Director of
 Mar. 3. the Mint to place the motto "IN GOD WE TRUST" upon

all coins issued whose size would admit the words—an appropriate motto for a Christian Nation.

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1865.

The reconstruction of the Union—by which the seceding States were to be received back—was a most difficult question to settle; Congress and the President held almost opposite opinions on the subject.

Two words were used—Restoration and Reconstruction; these differed widely in their meanings. The first expressed the President's "policy," as he termed it; that was to receive the recently rebellious States back into the Union just as they had been before the war, taking no note of the relation now held to the General Government, and to the whole Nation, by those who were once slaves, but now free men, and as such citizens. The conditions which the President required were that the people of these States should acquiesce in the abolition of slavery, repudiate the rebel debt, and repeal the ordinances of secession. Reconstruction meant the readmission of the lately rebellious States, with constitutional guarantees given by them, that the freedmen and their children should be recognized and treated as citizens.

The second session of the Thirty-eighth Congress, according to law, came to a close March 3d, 1865, and the Thirty-ninth would not assemble till December 4th. Meanwhile, in furtherance of his "policy" of restoration, the President appointed provisional governors over certain States recently in rebellion; to these officials he gave special instructions. From May 29th to July 13th he appointed seven governors to as many States. He directed them to have the people send delegates to conventions, which should repeal the ordinances of secession, acquiesce in the abolition of slavery, and repudiate the debt of the late "pretended Confederacy." If compliance was made with these conditions they were given to

CHAP. understand that at the next session of Congress their
 LXV. representatives would be admitted to the councils of
 1865. the Nation. This was an assumption on the part of the President. He had no authority as the executive to restore these States; that power belonged to the legislative branch of the Government, and as such under the Constitution this branch had always exercised that authority in admitting States. The undue haste in which the President pressed his "policy" of restoration, and the lack of courtesy shown the legislative branch of the Government, created alarm in the minds of the intelligent loyal men of the Nation. If the President deemed the readmission of these States so very urgent, why did he not call an extra session of Congress?

It is remarkable that in each instance of the death of the three Presidents who died while in office, the Vice-Presidents succeeding them in a singular manner changed their views in relation to the principles of the party which had elected them, and instead sympathized more or less with the opposing political organization.¹ The three Presidents who died in office were in principle of the same political party; for in reality we have had only two prominent parties in our political history, and these virtually preserved their own affiliations. The one in its principles descended under two different names—Whig and Republican—from that grand organization, the Federal, whose ideas of government were comprehensive and whose aims were national, and which under Washington established the Government and inaugurated our present policy of neutrality in respect to wars between foreign nations; the other—the Democratic—took its rise in opposition, especially to that policy, and without change of name² has come down to our own time, meanwhile

¹ Hist., p. 737.

² Hist., p. 583.

having its influence and share in moulding the destinies of the nation.

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1866.

Andrew Johnson was a most violent denouncer of the principle of secession and of "unrepentant rebels." He was specially severe on *treason*, proclaiming he "would make it odious." This announcement was made within a short time after he became President. Yet, during the recess of Congress, his administration of affairs connected with "restoration" was calculated, if not intended, to give those recently in rebellion every facility to carry out their plans. He also announced himself about the same time "a Moses to lead the colored people to freedom," but every bill adopted to aid them, or secure their rights as citizens, had to be passed *over his veto*—The Civil Rights Bill, The Freedmen's and Refugees Bill. The latter proposed to aid the "whites" who had been rendered destitute by the rebellion, as well as the freedmen. This bureau was of great advantage to both these classes, and being temporary in its operations, it was repealed as soon as the end was attained of putting these unfortunate people in the way of supporting themselves.

July
16.

In accordance with the instructions of the President, the delegates were elected, and in due time assembled in conventions, and by vote complied with the three requirements already mentioned. The legislatures and Congressmen were as promptly elected; the former speedily meeting in session, chose United States senators, and nearly all were ready to enter upon their duties as participators in the national councils on the opening of the first session of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

1865.
Dec. 4.

According to the law hitherto in force in those States, "These conventions had no power either to adopt a new constitution or to amend an old one without the consent

CHAP. of the people." The latter had not been invited to vote on
 LXV. them, nor were the writs issued in a legal form for the
 1865. election of the Legislatures and the Congressmen. The
 latter gentlemen, in order to enter upon their duties as
 national legislators, were willing to waive these trifling
 legal technicalities.

Another feature was quite remarkable. In the elections for representatives in the House as well as senators chosen, those who had been Union men, or loyal to the Government were rejected, and none but those who had been aiding or in sympathy with the rebellion were elected. Numbers could not take the prescribed oath: many were unpardoned, and did not conceal their hostility to the Union. These sentiments seemed to simple minds to indicate that these would-be legislators had only made a change of base.

Several of the conventions in these States deprecated Congress making enactments in respect to the political condition of the freedmen. The coincidence is marked. President Johnson says in his first annual message to
 1865, Congress: "In my judgment, the freedmen, if they
 Dec. 4. show patience and manly virtues, will sooner obtain a participation in the elective franchise through the States than through the General Government:" again: "It is not competent for Congress to extend the elective franchise in the several States."

Meanwhile the Legislatures, which had been recently elected, entered upon their duties, and enacted laws adapted to the new order of things. It is very strange
 1866. they displayed so little prudence: yet that fact gives a clearer manifestation of the animating spirit of which they seem to have been unconscious. The negro now being a freedman, they hastened to make laws in order to

utilize him. They were anxious to secure his labor, but upon their own terms; imposing conditions in respect to contracts, by laws which could be so construed as to bear hard upon the freedman, without affording corresponding facilities for him to obtain redress for injury or pay for his labor. These law-givers professed to be anxious lest the freedmen should become paupers; yet they, when slaves, of their own accord, for three or four years during the war had raised the crops and supported themselves and the families of their masters, while the latter were in the Confederate army. History records no instance of such disinterested loyalty; though they had heard of the proclamation of their freedom, yet they protected the defenceless women and children and committed no outrages;¹ this was a boon beyond price to their nominal owners. The moment the latter had the opportunity they repaid this kindness and loyalty by enacting laws that could be so interpreted as to hold these freedmen and their children in a modified form of slavery and ignorance forever.

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1866.

A brief summary of the salient points in the laws relating to freedmen, thus enacted in *ten* of the former rebellious States, may illustrate their spirit. These laws, however, became an occasion of good, for they compelled Congress, as a matter of justice and humanity, to secure in some permanent form the rights of the freedmen as citizens.

In accordance with these enactments the colored people were "eligible as witnesses," "where the rights of persons or property of persons of color shall be put in issue." "In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence shall be deemed inadmissible unless by *consent* of the parties

¹ Testimony of Senator Gordon of Georgia, vol. vi. p. 334. Report of Joint Committee on Outrages.

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of record." Under the term "vagrant"—which was given a very liberal interpretation—young colored persons could be seized and bound by indenture or apprenticed—the male to the age of *twenty-one*, the female to *eighteen*, if their parents could not support them, or if they were out of employment. These conditions seem to have been decided by the magistrates alone. The wishes of parents were apparently seldom recognized: but in *securing* these indentured servants the *former owners*, under certain conditions, had the preference. By law in one State—Louisiana—the *first ten days* in each January were set apart for making contracts with the freedmen for the year. If the latter engaged he was held for the year, virtually without redress for wrong done him. If injuries happened to the animals or accidents to the implements he used, he was held responsible, or, in other words, he was charged with the "wear and tear" of the plantation. Several of these Legislatures forbade by law colored men "to keep fire-arms of any kind"—the penalty usually being a fine twice the value of the fire-arm—and if the fine was not immediately paid, the delinquent was made to suffer.

Jan.
24.

Under the interpretation of the term "vagrant" the poor colored people—male and female—had scarcely any redress. Gen. A. H. Terry, when in command, found it necessary by order to forbid the enforcement of the laws of the Virginia Legislature in relation to "vagrants." The reason given: "wrongful combinations of employers have been entered into for the purpose of depressing the wages of freedmen below the real value of their labor." In the State of Mississippi the law did not "allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns and cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same." A law of South Carolina

“provided that no person of color shall pursue or practise the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic, or shop-keeper, employment or business on his own account, and for his own benefit, without a license.” The latter ranged in price from ten dollars to one hundred. No such license was required of a white man. A poll-tax of one dollar was levied on colored men over *twenty-one* years of age, and of fifty cents on colored females over *eighteen*. White females were not thus taxed. This code of South Carolina Gen. Daniel E. Sickles, when in command, uncere- moniously blotted out by a special order;¹ and Pro- visional Governor Perry felt constrained to dissolve the convention of the same State as a “revolutionary body,” even when assembled under the “Instructions.”

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1866.

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17.

It is easy to see that the effect of this legislation would be to hold the freedmen and their posterity in a state very little above that of the old system of slavery. They were nominally free men, but could have no opportunity of effectually defending themselves or their children under such laws from being ignorant serfs. These laws appear to have been enacted in the expectation that the President’s plan of restoration would be adopted, as they were all passed within six months. They reflected the animus of the ruling classes in the lately insurgent States, and disclosed a reason for the non-adoption of the President’s theory of restoration. Had these Legislatures passed liberal laws in respect to the freedmen, treated them kindly, and endeavored to give them a chance to succeed in their new relation as citizens of their several communities, and of the whole Union, it is more than probable the President’s unauthorized action would have been overlooked to a great extent, and perhaps in a modi- fied form adopted. At the time there was an unusual

1865,
Nov.
22,
to
1866,
May
25.

¹ Condensed from McPherson’s Handbook of Politics, pp. 29–44.

CHAP. feeling of good will abroad among the people of the loyal
LXV. States toward those who had been misguided or forced
1866. into the rebellion, and they were willing to make many
concessions, hoping, meanwhile, the poor freedmen would
now be permitted to have brighter prospects for them-
selves and their children. But the spirit of these laws
changed the entire aspect of the issue. This leniency
of the loyal people has attracted the attention of for-
eign writers. Says one, "The North, singularly merciful
in her use of victory, inflicted no penalty on those whom
she had defeated."¹

In respect to the action of the President, it was argued he had no power except under the laws as chief Executive. These laws gave him as commander-in-chief of the army no authority over the organization of territories nor of these recently rebellious States. It was simply his duty to restore order, to protect the people against violence until provision should be made by Congress for their government. These States were still under martial law, and the provisional governors could exercise military authority merely to preserve order. The President as the chief military authority could only depute similar authority to his subordinates. He might "recognize the people of any State as having resumed the relations of loyalty to the Union," and on that supposition act in his military capacity. This was far different from taking initiative measures to restore States which had been in rebellion, and were still under martial law, "to all the rights and privileges of the Union." The latter "process" would be an encroachment upon a co-ordinate branch of the Government. Under the Constitution Congress itself alone has the authority to secure to each State of the Union a "republican form of government."

¹ Mackenzie's Hist. of the Nineteenth Century, p. 77.

This duty cannot be assigned to the War Department; hence military governors could not establish State governments. Congress, as a rule, authorized by an “enabling act” territories to form constitutions and apply for admission into the Union, and if the conditions are complied with they are received as States.

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and
1867.

On the other hand it was argued that these States, after they had repealed the ordinances of secession, were back in the Union just as they were before the firing on Sumter;¹ then again that these ordinances in the first instance were null and void, and therefore during the conflicts of the last four years they were really in the Union, but in an insurrectionary state, and when order was restored their State sovereignty was interfered with in their not being as such recognized.

In this controversy, which lasted for two years, the framers of the laws quoted had the moral support of those in the North who had not been specially anxious that the loyal portion of the people should bring the disloyal into obedience to the Government. This influence encouraged the original disunionists during the late rebellion, and after its close, to resist reconstruction except in the form of restoration, that would leave the freedmen at their mercy, and thus retard the progress of the country for an indefinite period.

The question in respect to the future condition of the freedmen was far more important than *abstract theories* as to whether or not the rebellious States were in the Union as soon as their last army surrendered. It was evident from the spirit of the laws referred to, and the tone of popular feeling which dictated them, the design

¹ Majority and Minority Reports of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Handbook of Politics, pp. 84-104.

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1867. was to hold the colored race in a sort of peonage. Under the slave code it was a penal offence to teach them to read and write; this law was blotted out, but still the prospect of improvement derived from schools under the conditions was almost hopeless. Were these four million of the negro race to be left subject to the unjust laws of their recent nominal owners? They would now be reckoned citizens of the Union, and as such represented in the national councils, but would have no voice in the selection of their own representatives. This would be even more unjust to the people of the whole Nation than the former arrangement of representation under the system of slavery. This evil, however, was trifling when compared with an infinitely greater one—that of keeping the colored race in a state of helpless ignorance and virtual slavery. Under such depressing influences they must become necessarily a hindrance to material progress, and thus affect the interests of the whole Nation; and in proportion as their numbers increased would increase these difficulties. This is an economical view of the subject; but true statesmanship takes notice of both moral and political questions as influencing the future of communities.

It was essential for the harmonious action of the Government that the laws pertaining to suffrage should be uniform throughout the Union. The remedy, therefore, must be applied in such manner as to be the same in effect throughout the whole United States. It became a matter of expediency as well as an alternative to give the colored race the ballot, that they might have the means thus far to protect themselves from unfriendly legislation, the *form* in which their individual rights had just been assailed. The freedman was an illiterate—enforced to be such—but illiterate whites were not disfranchised: for the time he was ignorant—perhaps more so than a majority of the illiterate whites.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments of the Constitution apply to all the States of the Union. If the State of New York should by an act of her people deprive her German or Irish population of the right of suffrage, she could be legally deprived in the same proportion of her representatives in Congress; no more, no less than South Carolina could be if she denied her colored population the right of suffrage. The Constitution is thus designed to protect all classes of citizens, for it reads (Fourteenth amend., sec. 2): "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such [a] State, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State."

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1870.

Congress took measures to reconstruct the Union on principles of equity, that if fully carried out would secure the civil rights of all citizens. They first passed (over the President's veto) "The enabling act to provide efficient governments for the insurrectionary States." Then "the Registration Act" (based on the "Civil Rights Bill") by which the provisional governors were directed in their several States to order a complete registration of all the male citizens over twenty-one years of age, without reference to color or former condition of life. This registration was to be completed by September 1st, before the election, which was to be held for delegates to conventions to form State constitutions. Under this "act" the colored men were recognized as citizens, and, having registered soon after as such, for the first time, voted.

1867,
Mar.
23.

Sept.
1.

Why may not reconstruction on principles of right and justice, be noted in our history as the starting-point for the continuous advancement of the material progress

CHAP. of the Nation? It was then that the Union was totally
LXV. freed from the incubus of slavery—only its *débris*
1867. of ignorance and improvidence remaining; these two evils in a generation or two can be overcome. The colored people in their sphere as laborers are essential in the South to furnish their share in the more perfect advancement of the whole country, and this act of justice encourages them to prepare themselves and their children to fulfill the duties of their station, and by education—intellectual and moral—and by industry, make their lives successful. The reconstruction measures thus founded on justice and equity are comprehensive in their character, and in the end must have a beneficial influence upon the Nation.

The slaves of the Roman empire were originally prisoners of war, but they belonged to the white race, and when they became freedmen, they took their places as citizens on an equality; to them their misfortunes were not attributed as a disqualification. The case of the negro is different from that of all others in history; never before had a people of a different origin—a race physically so distinct and placed in so inferior condition—with the depressing influence of six generations of servitude, been made citizens: they having been excluded by law, as far as possible, from the benefits of the advancing civilization during the last two hundred years.

Reconstruction was a result of the humanizing influence of Christianity in the minds of the loyal portion of the American people: they would not sanction the holding of the freedmen in a condition bordering on that of their former bondage, and in which they could not make available the means of elevating themselves and their children.

In due time the seceded States adopted the requisite amendments, and were readmitted to the Union, and their senators and representatives to their seats in Congress. The last to come in were the States of North and South Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and Florida. Some of these had been unrepresented in Congress for seven years.

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Nebraska was admitted into the Union as a State, making the thirty-seventh. The same year Alaska was purchased from Russia for the sum of \$7,200,000 in gold. This immense region of 500,000 square miles is chiefly valuable for its fine fisheries, and for seal skins, the most important product, and also for its harbors on the Pacific coast.

Congress had passed a law entitled The Tenure of Office Bill, by which the consent of the Senate was necessary to the removal from office of any officer whose nomination by the President had to be confirmed by that body. The President, in violation of this law and during the recess of Congress, desired to remove that most efficient officer Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, from his position. Great political excitement grew out of these proceedings, which resulted in the impeachment of the President, by a resolution of the House of Representatives, "for high crimes and misdemeanors." His trial ended in his acquittal, as a two thirds vote of the Senate failed, by one vote, to pronounce him guilty. This is the only instance of a President of the United States being impeached.

An important treaty was made with the Chinese Empire, by which religious toleration was guaranteed to citizens of the United States residing in China, and the same privilege was extended to Chinese residents in this coun-

CHAP. try. This treaty was followed by an embassy from that
LXV. empire to the United States, which it is hoped will have
1867. a most favorable influence upon the policy of that se-
cluded empire.

In the election for President the Republican party nominated for the presidency and vice-presidency General U. S. Grant of Illinois, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, and the Democratic party, Horatio Seymour of New York, and General Francis P. Blair, Jr., of Missouri. The former were elected, and General Grant was inaugurated President 4th of March, 1869.

CHAPTER LXVI.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

Pacific Railway.—The Fifteenth Amendment.—Death of General Lee.—State Rights Influence.—Alabama Claims.—Fraudulent Voting.—The Ku-Klux-Klan.—Enforcement Act.—Signal Service.—Fires.—Manufactures; Iron; Silk.—Railroad Panic.—The Bill for Resumption of Specie Payments.—New Orleans Riots.—The Indian Question.—Colorado State.—Deaths.—Census of 1870.—Centennial.—Presidential Election.—Greeley; Sumner.—Influences binding the Union.—Civil Service Reform.—Platforms.—Electoral Commission.

WHEN Ulysses S. Grant entered upon the office of President the civil war had been concluded about four years; the direful effects on the South had been rapidly disappearing; all the States, by means of reconstruction, were once more under the old flag, and the nation had already entered upon a career of progress untrammelled by the incumbrance of slavery to retard advancement and to serve as an irritating element, as it had been for two generations. The President appointed ex-Governor Hamilton Fish, of New York, Secretary of State.

During this year the Pacific Railroad, extending from Omaha, Neb., to San Francisco, 1,913 miles, was finished; it supplied the link uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This was a work of great magnitude—entered upon in time of civil war, but pressed to the end by untiring energy. The United States aided in building this road by liberal grants of public lands and otherwise.

The Fifteenth Amendment, which reads, “The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of color or previous condition of servitude,” was adopted, and became the law of the land. This completed the

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1869.
Mar.
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1870.
Mar.
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1870.

amendments to the Constitution deemed necessary for the protection of the freedmen in their new relation as citizens. They have manifold difficulties to overcome, but their progress in industry and their endeavor to educate themselves and their children, and to acquire frugal habits, are the cheering features in their case. Too much, unfortunately, has been expected of them as citizens. The degradation of their previous condition has not produced that self-respect so necessary to success in life, and it will take time, and both moral and intellectual improvement, to obliterate the effects of such an influence. A feeling of kindness between the former masters and the freedmen is increasing from year to year, and as the industries of the late slaveholding States increase and their resources develop, the latter, as laborers at least, will doubtless perform their share in this general progress.

1875. "Now," wrote Vice-President Wilson, "the colored race, though little accustomed to habits of economy and thrift, possess millions of property, has hundreds of thousands of children in schools, has been clothed with civil and political rights, occupies high positions at home, and has representatives in Congress."

1870.
Oct.
12.

General Robert E. Lee died October 12, 1870. He had won for himself the respect of the people of the loyal States, and was the idol of those of his own section. He was a Christian and a gentleman: reserved in manner, but of the kindest disposition. He was opposed to the secession leaders, and had but little respect for their statesmanship: looking upon them as mere politicians. He believed that the war might have been avoided had it not been for extremists in both sections. Says he, "I did believe at the time that it was an unnecessary condition of affairs, and might have been avoided if forbearance and wisdom had been practiced on both sides." He wrote, Jan. 6th. 1861. "I cannot anticipate so great a calamity to the nation as the dissolution of the Union." When the war was over he accepted the situation, and used his influence

for the reconciliation of the North and South. He was elected president of Washington College in his native State, in which important and useful office he spent the remainder of his life; and there used all his influence to direct the young men to become Christians and good citizens, and true lovers of the *whole* country. A mother brought her two sons to enter the college, and in his presence loudly expressed her hatred of the North; the dignified president, interrupting her, said, "Madam, don't bring up your sons to detest the United States government. Recollect that we form but one country *now*; abandon all these local animosities, and make your sons Americans." He foresaw the ruin of his own Virginia in case of a civil war, and it was through agonies of spirit that he decided to go with her. "My husband has wept tears of blood," Mrs. Lee wrote to a friend, "over this terrible war; but he must, as a man and a Virginian, share the destiny of his State, which has solemnly pronounced for independence."² His decision, no doubt, was owing to the unconscious influence of the extreme views taken of the doctrine of State Rights, which affected the minds of many of the Southern statesmen of that period to such an extent as to cramp their political ideas. Unlike the statesmen of former times, they were so much engaged in plans of special legislation for "the peculiar institution," that their statesmanship was dwarfed; in consequence, their views of policy were more sectional than national; never grasping the whole land in its diversities of climate and manifold industries and institutions. Governments, in theory at least, have been formed to last for all time, and these leaders betrayed their want of true statesmanship when in their Constitution they embodied the doctrine of State Sovereignty to such an extent as to provide, in the very organization of their government, for its own dissolution—the only instance known to history of such inconsistency.

During the rebellion and at its close the loyal people and

Life of Lee, p. 331.

² Life of Lee, p. 31.

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1870. Congress felt keenly indignant that the English rulers should have given aid to the Confederates and manifested so much sympathy for their cause. "We charged and believed that Great Britain and her colonies had been the arsenal, the navy-yard, and the treasury of the Confederacy." But "with generous forbearance" the United States Government chose to obtain redress by negotiation, and a treaty was made, the Earl of Clarendon acting on the part of the English Government and Hon. Reverdy Johnson, an eminent lawyer, acting on the part of the United States. Senator Charles Sumner made a scathing analysis of this treaty when it came before the Senate for ratification, and it was rejected. His argument and the rejection irritated the English people exceedingly; but time and reflection revealed to them that Sumner's statements were so clear and so true that the United States had just reason to complain of England's lack of good faith as a neutral, and they began to regret sincerely there should be differences of an unfriendly character between the two nations of all others so nearly related, which feeling came now to be reciprocated by the people of the United States.

General Grant, soon after the rejection of the treaty, became President, and he recommended to Congress to appoint a commission to audit the claims of American citizens on Great Britain for losses by Confederate cruisers permitted to leave English ports to prey on American commerce, in order to have them assumed by the government itself. Soon after this the English government proposed to that of the United States a joint High Commission, to hold its sessions at Washington, to settle some questions in respect to boundaries between the two countries. The President consented on condition that the Alabama claims, so-called, should also be considered. This led to the second treaty of Washington (the first in 1842).¹ Five Commissioners were sent by the British Government, men of eminence, who met the same number, of equal character,

1871.
Jan.
26.

May
8.

¹ Hist., pp. 730-741.

appointed by the President. This treaty, from the principles involved in its action, is a noble example of nations settling their controversies by negotiation, and the arbitration of justice and reason, rather than by the barbarous arbitrament of the sword. The Commissioners made their work complete. By authority of the Queen the British negotiators expressed “in a friendly spirit the regret felt by Her Majesty’s Government for the escape, under whatever circumstances, of the *Alabama* and other vessels” —there were eighteen, including tenders—from British ports and for depredations committed by them.

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1871.

July
4.

There were in all five different subjects of controversy between the two nations, and the treaty arranged that these should be submitted to disinterested arbitrators whose award both nations were bound by agreement to accept as final. The points at issue were the claims of American citizens against Great Britain for damages sustained by cruisers fitted out in British ports to aid the Confederates in making war against the United States, and all claims of the citizens of either Government for injuries received during the civil war ; also for the regulation of the Atlantic coast fisheries of the United States and of the British provinces touching on the Atlantic and its estuaries ; and for the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and certain canals in the Canadian Dominion ; and in the United States for the free navigation of Lake Michigan, and also for reciprocal free transit across the territory either of the United States or of the Canadian Dominion : and, finally, the true boundary between Washington Territory and British Columbia, which had been postponed to a future time by Daniel Webster and Lord Ashburton when they negotiated the first treaty of Washington.

As long as Lord John Russell, through whose negligence the *Alabama* and other vessels were permitted to escape, had charge of the foreign affairs of Great Britain no redress could be obtained. Though admitting the wrong, he stubbornly refused to make any concession, on

CHAP. the ground that the "*honor* of England would not permit
 LXVI. her to make any reparation to the United States."

1871.

All these claims and questions of differences, in accordance with the treaty of Washington, were to be referred to a tribunal of five arbitrators, appointed in the following manner: namely, one by the President of the United States and one by the Queen of the United Kingdom, with requests to the King of Italy, the President of the Swiss Confederation, and the Emperor of Brazil each to name an arbitrator.

The friendly Powers, as requested, designated each an arbitrator of eminent abilities and learning. The Queen appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn arbitrator and President Grant, Charles Francis Adams. Each party employed counsel: in behalf of the United Kingdom was Sir Roundell Palmer aided by two others, and in behalf of the United States the eminent lawyers William M. Evarts, Caleb Cushing, and Morrison R. Waite—the latter now Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

1872.
 June
 15.

The arbitrators, in accordance with this arrangement, met by appointment at Geneva in Switzerland, and after a laborious session in examination — first, whether Great Britain failed to fulfill the duties laid down in the treaty in respect to preventing vessels leaving English ports to enter upon a war against American commerce in the service of the so-called Confederacy: and, secondly, to name the award which was to be in the gross, and paid in coin twelve months after the date of the decision; the United States Government was to examine the claims of its own citizens and pay them out of the award—the decision was in the following terms: "The tribunal, making use of the authority conferred upon it by Article VII. of the treaty of Washington, by a majority of four voices to one awards to the United States the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold as the indemnity to be paid by Great Britain to the United States, for the satisfaction of all claims referred to the consideration of the tribunal."¹ The money has been paid, and at this

Sept.
 14.

¹ Cushing on the Treaty of Washington, p. 280.

writing the claims are adjusted with the exception of a certain class of those presented by Insurance Companies. CHAP.
LXVI.

1870.

The Representative in the House holds a twofold relation to the people: he represents, specially, his own immediate constituents, who have elected him, and also indirectly the whole people of the Union. The Congressman from Maine and his fellow-member from Texas, have equal power when they vote on public affairs; in consequence of this feature, the whole Nation is interested in the selection of each Member of Congress; and the entire people, in self-protection, have a right to demand that Congressmen should be elected by the legal voters of their own districts. More remotely they have an interest in the election of legislatures, which choose United States' Senators; and in a much higher degree than either are their interests involved in the choice of a President.

After the Presidential election in 1868, the whole country was startled by the revelation that stupendous frauds had been committed in the City of New York, and that these were accomplished by issuing forged naturalization papers on which illegal votes were cast. In New York as well as in other large cities certain classes furnish great facilities for committing frauds of this character. These forged papers were also sent to the larger towns and along the railways of the State. 1868.

The statements in detail of these facts astounded the thinking minds of the Nation. Multitudes upon whom the right of voting had been graciously conferred or would be in due time, had been induced by certain leaders to abuse the privilege most grossly! Urgent appeals came up to Congress to prevent the repetition of such frauds. The House of Representatives appointed a committee of seven of its own members to investigate the subject, and with power to summon and compel witnesses. The committee found that in the month of Octo-

CHAP. ber alone—the election was to take place on the *third* of
 LXVI. the following November—were issued in the City of New
 1870. York, 57,217 naturalization papers: of these 18,314 had
 not been recorded by the court, but were discovered
 afterward. Witnesses stated that the recipients of these
 papers were sworn in in groups of one hundred to one
 hundred and eighty at a time. Two reports were made
 to Congress, the majority sustaining the charges, and the
 minority admitting that “a considerable number of cer-
 tificates of naturalization was obtained by fraud and per-
 jury.”¹ A bill was introduced to prevent frauds in the
 election of United States’ officers. The law provided:
 “In towns of over 20,000 population upon the written
 application of *ten* citizens the judge of the United States
 Circuit Court shall, *ten* days before the registration or
 election, appoint two citizens for each election district of
different political parties, who shall be known as super-
 visors of elections.” “In large cities the United States
 marshal may appoint two special deputies in each election
 district to assist the supervisors.” These officials are re-
 quired to attend both the registration and the election, in
 order to secure complete fairness.

May
31.

Though the war was ostensibly at an end, and the
 insurrectionary States under military commanders and
 provisional governors, appointed by President Johnson,
 outrages continued to the end of his administration to be
 committed on the freedmen and Union men—whites na-
 tive born—and upon those who had come thither for the
 purpose of settling, especially if the latter expressed
 opinions disliked by these gentlemen or sympathy for the
 freedmen in their troubles. The abolition of slavery,
 though acquiesced in, was exceedingly distasteful to the
 same classes, as well as the Civil Rights Bill by which
 the freedmen were protected as citizens. To neutralize

¹ Report of “Select Committee on alleged election frauds in New York.”

the effects of these bills, and of the recent amendments to the Constitution, associations were secretly formed within a few months throughout these States. They were popularly known by the name they gave themselves in public, "THE KU-KLUX KLAN"—a barbarous name—comprising the whole class, though in some sections different designations were used, such as the "White-Leaguers," "Knights of the White Camelia," etc., but the official name in the secret record was "THE INVISIBLE EMPIRE." These lawless bands were in active operation during the administration of the President's provisional governors, and before the State governments organized by the authority of Congress went into operation under the "Reconstruction Acts."¹

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LXVI.

1870.

1868,
July.

The Fourteenth Amendment having been proclaimed ratified, and the Fifteenth submitted to the State Legislatures with every prospect of being adopted, these facts roused a determination on the part of the Ku-Klux to prevent the principles of these two amendments being applied in the case of freedmen voting. The Ku-Klux bands were made up of idle young men belonging to the best families. They disguised themselves and their horses by means of frightful looking costumes, scoured the country by night, whipping and otherwise maltreating the negroes and white Union men. Assassinations of the most atrocious character were committed. Colored women were frequently barbarously whipped if they refused to betray the hiding-place of their friends, and sometimes were even hanged. It may account for the little resistance the Ku-Klux met that they had previously deprived the colored men of their arms.

Nothing, except it may have been a school-house, excited the rage of the "Ku-Klux" so much as a colored man successful in his business by being industrious and

¹ Hist., pp. 1033-1042.

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LXVI.
1870.

saving, and especially if he learned to read and write. They frequently burnt school-houses built and owned by the freedmen, and maltreating the teachers, drove them off. It seems incredible that such crimes should be committed and apologized for in a community professing to be under the influence of a civilization claimed to be Christian.

At length Congress partially put an end to these crimes by passing a stringent law known as the "Enforcement Act." This authorized the Government to protect the victims of these outrages, and punish the authors of such crimes. President Grant issued a proclamation suspending the *habeas corpus* in nine counties in South Carolina. This was necessary, because the State courts interfered with the Federal officials in the discharge of their duties. The influence of this assertion of law extended to other States, and to some extent prevented similar outrages.

These unpunished crimes, and the petty annoyances inflicted upon numerous business Northern men and their families, who were desirous of casting in their lot with their Southern brethren, have retarded the material prosperity of these States for a quarter of a century; for even when the outrages entirely cease (as they mostly have done), the memory of such deeds must create a prejudice not soon to be eradicated from the minds of men.¹

Scientific men desired to obtain uniform observations on the atmosphere at the same moment over the entire Union; and as such information could be made available for practical purposes by the telegraph, Congress established the "Signal Service Bureau"—the first in the world. These observations pertain to the temperature and moisture of the atmosphere, the velocity and direction of the wind, and when likely to be of use, the rise and fall of rivers. The reports of the Bureau are espe-

¹ See the 13 vols. of Reports of the Joint Committee of Congress on these outrages.

cially beneficial to the mercantile marine, as storms are predicted many hours, and sometimes days in advance, meantime storm signals are placed along the coast to warn vessels which are about going to sea. These benefits are shared also by the farmers and the commerce of the Great Lakes, as the observations and predictions are published and sent daily to every post-office in the Union, besides being printed in the daily papers. There are more than one hundred and fifty stations in the United States where, at the same moment, observations are made, recorded, and the result transmitted to the main office of the Bureau at Washington. In order to ascertain the condition of the higher atmosphere, high points that may be available for the purpose are chosen, such as Mount Mitchel, N. C., Mount Washington, N. H., and Pike's Peak, Colorado, and others. The time appointed to take these observations corresponds to 7.35 A.M., Washington City. It is estimated that nine tenths of these predictions are verified, and great benefits have been thus far conferred upon the country, and as the operations of nature become better understood, they will be still greater in the future. The system has been adopted in Europe; and there have been occasions when great risks on the sea were about to be run parties have sent for and obtained the predictions of the Bureau.

One of the most terrible fires of modern times in two days devastated the City of Chicago; a wind storm of unprecedented violence raged the entire time, and fanned the flames in their onward course until they were stopped by Lake Michigan. Seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty buildings were reduced to ashes; to do this the flames raged over twenty-one hundred acres; ninety-eight thousand persons were rendered homeless, while two hundred million dollars' worth of property was virtually annihilated. The catastrophe was followed by great distress; but relief generously poured in from all

CHAP.
LXVI.
1870.

1871,
Oct.
8 & 9

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1871.

parts of the Union and even from Europe. But perhaps the most remarkable feature growing out of this great misfortune was the indomitable energy of the citizens themselves, who commenced to build before the debris was cold, and to-day their city is more beautiful than ever, and is extending its facilities of commerce and trade farther and farther.

1872.
Nov. 9.

In the business portion of the city of Boston a fire broke out and raged for nearly two days, burning over sixty-five acres covered with buildings, destroying property to the value of more than eighty million dollars. This space has since been built over with substantial houses for commercial purposes. Meanwhile the streets of the same have been straightened.

From
1864
to
1873.

The rebellion was the occasion of remarkable progress in all the industries of the loyal States. To equip the Navy and make it effective required an immense outlay of material, iron, coal, and lumber. Meantime the destruction of railroads during the war, and their unusual wear and tear, to repair which rendered necessary a vast expansion in the manufacture of railway equipments, and this led to an unprecedented development of the iron and coal¹ resources of the country. The building of railways was much extended; one road—the Union Pacific—was finished across the continent, and another—the Northern Pacific—partially so; while in the lately insurgent States the railroads ruined by the war were put in repair. In the Northern States, also, the roads were refitted and much extended, requiring for the greater part steel rails, thus leading to the manufacture of iron in the form of steel by the rapid process known as the Bessemer, and this again into rails.

The manufacture of textile fabrics from cotton and wool also received a great impulse, while another indus-

¹ Primer on the Natural Resources of the United States, by J. Harris Patton.

try, hitherto quite limited, that of manufacturing silk, was extended enormously, till the yearly product was valued at thirty million dollars by the Census. All the industries of the Union were promoted in consequence of the war, and by a tariff designed to equalize the cost of production by counterbalancing the low wages paid operatives in Europe.

One of the most severe commercial failures this country has experienced was inaugurated suddenly by a large banking-house in Philadelphia stopping payment. This institution was so intimately associated with others throughout the land that almost immediately numbers of banks, commercial houses, and manufacturing establishments, and one prominent railway company, failed to meet their obligations. This has been characterized by some the "Money Panic," and by others the "Railroad Panic." The industries of the country were greatly disturbed; they had been so very successful and had increased their productions to such an extent that they had a large surplus on hand for which there was no market. Railway building, a prominent industry of the time, ceased almost entirely, and multitudes of working men in every portion of the Union were thrown out of employment. Unfortunately the high wages paid for the last few years had led to habits of extravagance among those who obtained their living from wages alone. Nor did the evil end here; even those who hitherto had been economical in their expenses and prudent in their investments were tempted to spend more money on their living than their incomes would warrant. In consequence of these imprudencies the distress was more than usually extended, reaching all classes of the community. "The financial revulsion of 1873, which was a necessary consequence of the speculation and over-production incited by the inflated currency of the ten years previous, brought its saddest results on the class who depend on wages, cutting off the

CHAP.
LXVI.1880,
Sept.
17.

1873

CHAP. means of living with many, and perpetuating the distress
 LXVI. through a series of years following.¹

1875.
 Jan.
 10.

Two years later, in order to remove these evils and get back to a solid basis for financial transactions, Congress passed a bill making provision for the resumption of specie payments. This meant that the National government intended to make its greenbacks, its bonds, and the notes of the National Banks redeemable in coin. This resumption was to take place on January 1, 1879. The day after the bill was signed by President Grant the premium on gold began to disappear, and so carefully were the financial affairs of the government managed that on the appointed day *it vanished*, and resumption was an accomplished fact.

1873.
 May
 22.

The unsettled condition of political affairs in Louisiana eventually assumed the form of riot in New Orleans. The two candidates for the office of governor both claimed to be elected, in accordance with the decision of the two Returning Boards of elections—one Republican, the other Democratic. They mutually charged each other with fraud. Thus, at the same time, there were two acting governors and two Legislatures in session; the laws were not enforced, and confusion reigned to the detriment of life and property. President Grant at length issued a proclamation enjoining the people to preserve order and restrain themselves from violence. He saw reasons to sustain the claims of Governor Kellogg (Republican). The difficulties in respect to the election arose from the outrages committed by marauding bands of lawless men, who threatened and abused the freedmen if they voted against the wishes of these bands. In consequence the votes of certain districts were counted by one returning board, and rejected by the other.

This confusion and ill feeling lasted for an entire

¹ Political Economy, Wayland and Chapin, p. 158.

year, when finally they resulted in a riot in the city; a conflict occurring in the streets, in which twenty-six persons lost their lives, and Governor Kellogg was forced to take refuge in the United States Custom House. The President now interfered and reinstated Kellogg, and compelled obedience for a while to the law. Some months afterward the troubles were renewed; Congress being in session a committee of that body was sent to New Orleans to make an investigation; and under its conciliatory influence the difficulties were adjusted.

One of the most difficult problems for the National Government to solve has been that of the Indian question. Congress deemed it better for the Indians to be settled by themselves on tracts of land or reservations, where their rights would not be encroached upon by white settlers, and where they might in time become civilized, which could never be the case so long as they roamed as hunters. The Government at first set apart for their homes a large section of country—about 69,000 square miles—known as the Indian Territory, one of the finest regions in the Union. At different times since the removal there of the southern Indians,¹ various northern and western tribes and portions of tribes, have been transferred thither, until the population has reached nearly 70,000. Their advances in civilization, in cultivating the soil and in the simpler forms of mechanical industries, and especially in the secular and religious education of their children, have been under the circumstances very successful. There are also in the western section of the Union several smaller reservations; at all of which the Indians have made much progress during the last ten or fifteen years in acquiring settled habits. At all these reservations are found Christian Missionaries, who are doing much to give a proper tone to the civilization in progress by instructing the adults as well as the children.

CHAP.
LXVI.
1875.

1833.

¹ Hist. pp. 700, 706.

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LXVI.

1875.

There are still remaining wild Indians, who are, as yet, unwilling to settle on reservations. A treaty was made with a small tribe, the Modocs, living on Lake Klamath, according to which they were to remove to a reservation. They afterward refused and took to the war path, and Gen. Canby, in command of the Department, intended to persuade them to go peaceably. But when about to enter upon the conference agreed upon the Modocs treacherously killed him and one of the United States Commissioners, and wounded others. The Government sent a military force which drove the Indians from their hiding places, and finally captured the assassins. Captain Jack, the principal chief, and two minor ones were hanged. The tribe was broken up and a portion scattered; while the remainder was captured and sent to the Indian Territory.

1872.

1873.
April.

The Territory of Colorado made application for admission into the Union as a State. Its fine deposits of the precious metals, and its facilities for stock raising, together with a health-giving climate, allured thither an unusually large immigration. Congress passed the Enabling Act, and the Territory was admitted the following year—making the thirty-eighth State.

June.

1876

Within a few years after the close of the Civil War a number of those who, during that period, were engaged in public affairs, passed away. Among these were Edwin M. Stanton, the efficient Secretary of War under President Lincoln; William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Presidents Lincoln and Johnson, of great learning as a statesman, and most efficient in managing our foreign relations; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, to whom is due the system of National Banks; Gen. George S. Meade, the hero of Gettysburg; Henry Wilson while Vice-President, and Andrew Johnson, not long after his term of office expired; Louis Agassiz, one of the great teachers of science, and Joseph Henry, a scientist of world-wide reputation, and for many years

Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington City. CHAP.
LXVI.

The Census of 1870 gave the population of the States and Territories of the Union as 38,533,191; about 7,000,000 more than that of 1860. This was the most eventful decade of our history. The nation since the close of the rebellion has exhibited remarkable elasticity, and has been rapidly recovering from the strain of an extraordinarily expensive civil war, both in precious lives and treasure.

Congress passed a law by which, hereafter, all officers of the national Government elected by the people are to be chosen on "the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November"—to take effect in 1876. 1874.

As the time drew near when the nation would be one hundred years old, Congress made arrangements to celebrate its Centennial in an appropriate manner, properly selecting the city of Philadelphia as the place of the national celebration, because in that city was made the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.¹ The act provides for celebrating in a becoming manner the one hundredth anniversary of American Independence, by holding an International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures and products of the soil and mines, at Philadelphia, in 1876." Congress authorized first a "Commission to consist of not more than one delegate from each State and territory, to be appointed by the governors thereof, whose duty it shall be to prepare and superintend the execution of a plan for holding the Exhibition, and its general supervision; they to continue in office to the end of the Exhibition;" and secondly a corporation known as "The Centennial Board of Finance," composed of prominent citizens from each State and Territory of the United States, equal in number to twice the number of their senators, members, and delegates in Congress. The corporation to hold its meetings in Philadelphia. The President was authorized to invite the co-operation of foreign powers in the celebration. 1871.
Mar.
3.

¹Hist. p. 412.

CHAP.
LXVI.

1876.

This invitation was responded to in a most gratifying manner: nearly forty of the civilized nations of the earth were represented in innumerable forms of their manufactures and arts, evincing unusual national courtesy and good-will—the manifestation of an “era of good feeling” among the nations of the world. The circumstances were such as to command attention; the independent growth of the nation in a brief period of a century, the result of its starting on its career with the elements of national greatness in abeyance ready to be developed as occasion required; the energy of a people every one imbued with the self-respect and self-reliance of an intelligent freeman.

The Exhibition buildings were in Fairmount Park, were of immense size, and finely arranged for the purpose designed. By means of the proper adjustment of glass in iron frames, the light was diffused in the most perfect manner. The main structure covered an area of 20 acres (the same as that of the London Exhibition in 1851); the other buildings, in all, occupied 40 acres more. These were of different styles and finished in accordance with each, displaying much taste, and withal an appropriateness of design. The whole buildings combined covered an area about the same as that of the Great Exhibitions of London and Paris (1862-7), while they contained 10 acres more than the one at Vienna (1873). This Exposition has certainly proved to be a school for improvement in the mechanical and tasteful arts, as here were seen the finest specimen of man's mechanical skill or inventive genius. Every well-wisher of moral and intellectual progress will look with interest upon the effects of such great gatherings of the representatives of the nations of the earth, thus commingling, and, we trust, in the interest of “peace and good-will to men.”

1872.

In the presidential election in 1872 President Grant was the candidate of the Republican party, and Horace Greeley of the Liberal Republicans and Democratic party. The former was elected for a second term.

Horace Greeley died on the 29th of November, 1872. Born in New Hampshire, the son of a humble farmer in very limited circumstances, through many trials he acquired self-reliance. True to himself and his integrity he rose by his own energy, and won the respect of his countrymen. Kind in heart and proverbially benevolent, the friend of the oppressed of every land and the unrelenting opponent of every system of oppression. At the age of fifteen he began as an apprentice in a country printing office, and after many changes and trials and disappointments he came to the city, and in time founded the New York *Tribune*. Through that medium he exerted a great influence in promoting the cause of temperance, and the industrial interests of the land. The death of no American private citizen had, hitherto, elicited so much sympathy and respect.

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1872.

Charles Sumner was born in Massachusetts, and died at Washington, March 11, 1874. Sent direct from the people to the United States Senate, he remained a member of that body for twenty-two years, and in the active duties of his position till his death. In varied learning and refined taste and mature scholarship he towered above his fellows. He maintained his influence in the nation by the purity of his political character and his commanding intellect, his most thorough knowledge of every important subject brought before the Senate, and his comprehensive views of national policy. Unswerving in opposition to the system of slavery and the untiring friend of the colored man—whether a bondman or a freedman—he labored to remove obstructions to his success in life, if he himself chose to make the proper exertion as a citizen by industry, and cultivating habits of economy and thrift.

The nation having just passed through a fearful struggle to preserve its integrity, the question occurs, Will there ever be another attempt to destroy the Union? No doubt questions of national policy will arise in the future, on which will be differences of opinion, but never, probably,

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LXVI.

1867.

of a class involving principles of morals, of right and justice, wounding the conscience of the people, as was the case in respect to the system of slavery. The signs of the times indicate that the principles of religious freedom will forever secure that perfect toleration in matters of conscience so dear to the heart of the American people. Our system of common schools is destined to be a great harmonizer of the nation, by preparing the people to become more and more intelligent, uniting them by the strong bond of the same language and its literature, in contrast with the other nations or empires of the world occupying immense areas of territory. The school-books used throughout the land are the same in character. The language of the newspaper, the pulpit, the lecture, the myriads of books published from year to year, is the same, while it is spoken throughout the Union with scarcely a difference of intonation, much less amounting to a dialect.

The continuous changes of residence by emigration from one part of the country to another, and the facilities of travel, bringing together the people of the various sections in social intercourse, assimilate their characteristics, while the small fraction, comparatively, of the foreign population scarcely affects the homogeneity of the nation, for they soon affiliate, and their children, taught in the public schools, grow up genuine Americans. The numerous railways connecting all portions of the Union, and affording easy communication for travel or transportation of merchandise, are so many bands to hold us together; while the national system of finances have a binding influence by cheapening exchange from one section to another, and thus saving an immense sum every year to the commercial interests of the land.

The conformation of our territory is suited to be occupied by one nation alone; and the very diversities of climate with us have a binding influence, inasmuch as they afford us cheaply the necessities of life and many of its luxuries. The great valley of the Mississippi, extending north and

south, with its varied climate, will ever be the indispensable storehouse of cereals and live stock, furnishing, in exchange for manufactures and merchandise, most of the food for the inhabitants of the Atlantic slope, and also for the mining regions of the Rocky Mountains; while the States along the South Atlantic and on the Gulf are equally as important in furnishing cotton and sugar. These common wants will make the people of all sections of the land mutually dependent one upon another. Should questions of national policy hereafter arise, under such influences they will be considered in a conciliatory spirit, and decided in the light of truth and justice.

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LXVI.
1876.

The rapid and easy communication by means of railways from one section of the land to another precludes the danger of sectional divisions of territory on account of its great extent; while the telegraph almost brings the listening ear of the nation to the halls of Congress to hear the discussions of questions of national importance, thus enabling the people to form an intelligent judgment and to decide such questions by their vote in the light of patriotism and in the spirit of the Golden Rule.

The moral influences existing among the various Christian denominations of the land serve to unite the whole people in sympathy of a purer type and to a greater extent than before the civil war, as the greatest obstacle to a genuine national Christian fellowship was removed by the extinction of slavery, which brooded over the churches of the land like a moral incubus and precluded perfect unity of Christian feeling because of the conflicting views held by Christians, both North and South, on the moral character of that system.

Now the various benevolent and Christian institutions can have full play; their power is increasing rapidly from year to year, while they are extending their influence and helping hand into fields of labor in every section of the country, inciting a stronger national interest and brotherhood of feeling. Not the least will be the influence for

CHAP. good of that mutual respect which prevails between the
LXVI. surviving Union and Confederate soldiers who met in
1871. battle and tried each other's mettle, and which in due
time will banish far away bygone prejudices ;—the “Ir-
reconcilables,” for the most part, have been similar to
those whom Washington in his day characterized as
“chimney-corner soldiers.”

The question of Civil Service Reform was agitated to remedy evils arising from appointing persons to minor offices—all under the Head Departments—for political reasons alone, rather than for integrity and capacity. Congress created a Board of Commissioners to devise a system of rules by which the appointments to office should be governed. The Board recommended that examinations of candidates should be held, and a certain grade of scholarship required ; and, to secure the services of capable men, as well as to retain their skill and experience for the benefit of the Government, they should not be removed except for malfeasance in office or inability to perform its duties. These regulations are somewhat difficult to be carried out : a candidate may pass the examination on abstract studies, yet lack the experience and business tact to fulfill the duties required. However, a great gain is secured by examinations ; and in time, no doubt, scholarship and experience will be so combined that the affairs of these minor offices will be conducted on common-sense principles. We have seen in what manner the system was introduced, and also the effect produced.¹ It was natural that those who desired to obtain United States offices for themselves or their friends should apply to their own Representative in Congress. This custom increased to such an extent that Congressmen, even when uninvited, were tempted to suggest the names of those whom they wished to be ap-

¹ Hist. pp. 705, 730.

pointed in their own district; in time the suggestion grew into almost a demand.

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LXVI.

Another subject of general discussion throughout the country and in Congress was that of the finances in connection with the Tariff and Internal Revenue—by the two latter was raised the means to pay the interest on the National debt and defray the current expenses. This was by far the most important question in all its relations before Congress; for on the judicious management of the finances depended much of the material prosperity of the country.

1871.

We can learn the opinions held by the two main political parties, by noting them as found in their declarations of principles, known as platforms, during the Presidential canvass. The Republican Convention (at Cincinnati) said: "Commercial prosperity, public morals and National credit demand that this promise [the pledged faith of the United States Government to pay its bonds in coin] be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payments." Again: "That duties upon importations should be, as far as possible, adjusted to promote the interests of American labor, and advance the prosperity of the whole country." The Democratic Convention (at St. Louis) said: "We denounce the financial imbecility of that party [the Republican] which, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such a hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal." Again: "We demand that all Custom House taxation shall be only for revenue." The "Greenback" party, in respect to the finances, coincided with the Democratic, saying: "We demand the immediate and unconditional repeal of the specie resumption act of 1875."

1876.

June
15.

June
28.

May
18.

The candidates of the Republican and Democratic Conventions were—of the former, Rutherford Birchard

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1876.

Hayes, of Ohio, for President, and William Almon Wheeler, of New York, for Vice-President; and of the latter, Samuel Jones Tilden, of New York, and Thomas Andrews Hendricks, of Indiana. The canvass was very spirited, and the result very close, depending upon one electoral vote. A dispute arose, especially in relation to the votes cast in three States—Louisiana, South Carolina, and Florida: it was doubtful for which candidate they had legally voted: two sets of certificates of election being handed in. The excitement was great throughout the land: fraud was charged on both sides. The truth could be ascertained only by a thorough and impartial investigation. In this view all were agreed; and for that purpose a special tribunal was created by Congress, known as the Electoral Commission, whose decision was to be final, unless rejected by both Houses of Congress. This tribunal consisted of five judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, five United States Senators, and five Representatives of the Lower House. Legal counsel was employed on each side. The returns from every State were examined, discussed and voted upon; special attention being given to those from the doubtful States mentioned above. Every discrepancy in the returns was investigated, and after expending much time and labor, the Commission decided that the Republican nominees, Hayes and Wheeler, had 185 electoral votes, and the Democratic, Tilden and Hendricks, 184.

1877,
Mar.
4.

This decision was made on March 2; the 4th came on Sunday; on that day, in the presence of a few persons, Mr. Hayes took an official oath. According to precedent, the following day he was inaugurated. The unusual interest in the questions involved drew together an immense concourse of people from all parts of the Union. Chief-Justice Waite administered the oath publicly.

CHAPTER LXVII.

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inaugural.—Cabinet.—Civil Service.—Railway Riot.—Coinage of Silver.—Fisheries Indemnity.—Resumption of Specie Payments.—Progress.—Tariff.—Platforms of Parties.—Tenth Census.—Ratio of Representatives.

RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES was born in Ohio, on October the 4th, 1822. After graduating at Kenyon College, he studied in Harvard University Law School, and began the practice of his profession in Cincinnati. When the Rebellion commenced he was City Solicitor; he volunteered, and was assigned to a regiment with the rank of Major, and soon after promoted in the same to the rank of Colonel. At the battle of South Mountain (Antietam) he was severely wounded; on recovery he rejoined the army, and afterward was created Brigadier-General of Volunteers "for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and Cedar Creek;" and finally he was brevetted Major-General. He was then put in command of a division, and served in that capacity to the end of the war, having been wounded four times and had five horses shot under him in battle.

At the close of the Rebellion he was elected Representative for two successive terms to Congress; but before the close of his second term he was chosen Governor of his native State, and again for the second time; at the expiration of the latter term he was again elected to Congress, but before the close of his term he was for the

CHAP.
LXVII.
1877.

CHAP. third time chosen Governor of Ohio; this office he
LXVII. resigned to assume that of President of the United States.
1877,
Mar. 4.

The President outlined his policy in his Inaugural, the burden of which was the unsettled condition of the recent insurgent States. He urged "the permanent pacification of the country upon such principles and by such measures as will secure the complete protection of all citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights." Again: "That a moral obligation rests upon the National Government to employ its Constitutional power and influence to establish the rights of the people it has emancipated." "That universal suffrage should rest upon universal education. To this end liberal and permanent provision should be made for the support of free schools." As a subject of reform he alluded to "certain abuses and practices of so-called official patronage, which have come to have the sanction of usage in the several departments of our Government." He also expressed himself "in behalf of an early resumption of specie payments."

The President called to his Cabinet William M. Evarts, of New York, Secretary of State; John Sherman, of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary, of Iowa, Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson, of Indiana, Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key, of Tennessee, Postmaster-General; and Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General.

President Hayes entered upon measures of Civil Service by making but few changes and as far as possible consulting the interests of the public alone. He also issued an order requiring officers in the employ of the Government not "to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions or election campaigns." A more difficult question was impending—

that of continuing the United States troops in the States of Louisiana and South Carolina, where they had been detailed to preserve order. He decided to remove them; this was understood to be done on the assurance of gentlemen of influence in that section, that in these States there should be no more political disturbances.

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1877.

On two of the main trunk lines of railway across the Alleghanies—the Baltimore and Ohio and the Pennsylvania Central—commenced a series of strikes, as they are termed, by the persons in employ of these corporations. The strikes for higher wages soon degenerated into riots; the rioters took possession of the roads, preventing the trains running; meanwhile the freight cars were plundered, a hundred locomotives were destroyed at Pittsburg alone, and an immense amount of merchandise not stolen was burned, and railway traffic was suspended across the continent to California. The authorities of two or three States found themselves unable to restore order, and were compelled to call on the President for aid. United States troops were sent to quell the outbreak, which was not accomplished until many lives were lost, and much property, though not belonging to the railroads, was destroyed.

July.

Congress passed a bill to remonetize silver, which had not been coined to much extent for some years; it was a legal tender for debts public and private to the amount of five dollars. The mints have since been coining silver dollars according to the law, till there is a vast amount lying idle in the Treasury; for the people, because of its weight and bulk, are not disposed to use it, when United States greenbacks and National Bank notes are equal in value and so much more convenient. These silver dollars are of “the standard weight of four hundred and twelve grains and one-half, troy, of standard silver.” The further coinage of the *twenty-cent* pieces was also prohibited.

1881.

CHAP.
LXVII.1877,
Nov.
23.

In accordance with the Second Treaty of Washington, an award of 5,500,000 dollars was rendered to Great Britain, as an estimate made by the Commission appointed for the purpose, of the value derived by the United States from the Canadian fisheries. Congress made an appropriation of the amount awarded.

1879,
Jan. 1.

During more than the first half of Mr. Hayes's administration discussions still continued on the finances and the tariff, both in Congress and in the newspapers. The Democratic party wished to repeal the Resumption Act, to take effect on January 1, 1879; and as they had control in the House of Representatives, there they were thus far successful, but not having a majority in the Senate, in that body the repeal failed to pass, and two months before the desired majority was obtained Resumption had taken place—much to the advantage of our internal and foreign commerce and the varied industries of the Union. A brighter day dawned upon the financial future of the country, when on that morning the premium on gold vanished.

The Resumption placed the National finances on a solid basis, while the Government by its measures inspired through the commercial world so much confidence in its power to meet its liabilities, that the Secretary of the Treasury was able, at the option of the holder, either to pay the United States bonds, as they became due, or change them to a lower rate of interest and for a longer time. By means of this lower rate of interest there was saved annually to the Treasury more than 13,000,000 dollars. In addition, the confidence thus created kept the bonds above par not only in the United States but in Europe.

Since Resumption there has been, also, a marked and continuous progress in the country: great advances being made in all its industries. The Centennial Exhibition

had made known to the world the mechanical skill of the American people, their inventions and their applications of machinery to so many kinds of industry. The products of their factories and their workshops have since found their way into every civilized nation, and have held their own by their merits. As an economical measure the Centennial has paid perhaps more than its expenses in opening these markets to our merchants and manufacturers.

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LXVII.
1879.

Our agricultural products have been abundant for the last few years. The crops of cotton, four-fifths of which have been raised by the colored people since the close of the Rebellion, have been increasing annually in quantity, till that of 1880 was the largest ever made. Our exports to Europe have taken an unusually wide range :—wheat as well as flour and other grains ; cotton ; dairy products in the form of cheese and butter ; provisions of other kinds, such as pork and slaughtered meats, in great quantities ; and live stock, beef cattle, sheep and horses. So great have these exports been for the last few years that the balance of trade has been in our favor on an average of 150,000,000 dollars a year. In 1879 our exports in value were 265,000,000 dollars more than our imports.

After specie payments were resumed differences of opinion on the tariff continued to be discussed, and it became a prominent question in the Presidential canvass, because of its great influence on the mechanical industries of the Union. The two main political organizations published their views on the questions at issue in their National Conventions, called to nominate candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency. The Democrats (at Cincinnati), though concise in their statement, were in accordance with the principles they announced four years before, when they demanded “that all Custom House taxation should be *only for revenue* ;” now, “A tariff *for revenue only*.” They urged “that common schools

1880.

June
23.

CHAP.
LXVII.1880,
June
5.

should be fostered and protected," and desired "a general and thorough reform of the Civil Service." The Republicans (at Chicago) said: "We reaffirm the belief avowed in 1876 that the duties levied for the purpose of revenue should *so discriminate as to favor American labor.*" "The reviving industries should be further promoted, and that the commerce already increasing should be steadily encouraged." "The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its Constitutional ability." "The reform of the Civil Service should be thorough, radical and complete."

1880,
Nov
2.

The Democrats nominated General Winfield Scott Hancock, of Pennsylvania, for President, and William Henry English, of Indiana, for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated James Abram Garfield, of Ohio, for the first office, and Chester Alan Arthur, of New York, for the second. The latter were elected.

The tenth census was taken in 1880. It revealed the fact that the population of the United States had increased nearly *thirteen-fold* since the first census in 1790—that is, from 3,929,214 to 50,155,783—and also that the increase from the *ninth* census to the *tenth* was 12,000,278. Congress, in accordance with the law on the subject, enacted that the number of the members of the House of Representatives should be 325 for the five Congresses following the XLVIIth, which ends March 3, 1883. This number gives the ratio of one Representative to every 151,918 of the inhabitants of the United States—not including Territories. In the first Congress (1789) the ratio was one Representative to every 30,000.

The administration of Mr. Hayes drew to a close. It had been one of unusual prosperity throughout the land. Great advance was made in Civil Service Reform; the

taxes from Internal Revenue were collected and paid in without loss of a dollar. His administration will long be held in remembrance for the high tone it took in respect to Temperance in the White House, under the direction of Mrs. Hayes, the influence of which has been felt for good throughout the Union.

CHAP.
LXVII.
1880.

A great boon was conferred upon humanity when Dr. James Marion Sims, a native of South Carolina, but then a resident of Montgomery, Alabama, was successful in curing a disease peculiar to women, requiring an operation, but deemed incurable. Dr. Sims studied the disease for years, and for it treated numerous patients; while reasoning on the subject he was led to use a fine wire of silver—that metal being non-corrosive—as a suture: a cure was at once effected.

1849.

When Dr. Sims became a resident of New York he often and freely treated patients for this disease in the hospitals of the city, in the presence of their corps of surgeons. The cases, outside these institutions, were so numerous that Dr. Sims proposed to establish in that city a hospital for the treatment of women's diseases exclusively, to which proposal strenuous opposition was made by the prominent surgeons connected with the hospitals, while the physicians in general practice were heartily in favor of the project. A number of benevolent ladies took the matter in hand, and in May, 1855, the institution began its work in a private house, and with a large number of patients. It was incorporated under the title of "The Women's Hospital of the State of New York"—the first of the kind in the world. Funds were soon supplied, a commodious building was erected, and from the first it was successful. Dr. Sims made several trips to Europe, and taught the surgeons in the hospitals how to treat the disease. The civil authorities, appreciating his skill and many eminent services to surgical science, conferred on him their highest decorations.

1857.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

GARFIELD'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of life.—Senate of the State of Ohio.—Volunteers.—In command in Eastern Kentucky.—Continuance in the army.—In Congress.—Inaugurated President.—Success of the finances.—The assassination.—Sympathy of the world.—Removal to Long Branch.—Death.—Interment.—Incident.—Training of citizens.—The assassinations and the causes.—The Spoils System.

CHAP.
LXVIII
1831.

JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD was born on the 19th of November, 1831, in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, whither his father had removed a few years before, from the State of New York. He is a fitting type of a nation composed of elements derived from so many races; in his veins flowed the blood of the Anglo-Saxon, the German and the French (Huguenot), on the mother's side. A cabin built of unhewn logs was his birthplace; it stood in a small clearing, in the midst of a primeval forest of large trees, a portion of the latter having been removed to make room for a dwelling and to open up a farm; this had been done by the toil of the father, who died when James—the youngest of four children—was less than two years old. Blest with a mother having remarkable traits of character, of moral and mental power, of will and perseverance, he was trained early to habits of industry and right views of duty. Poverty from the first pressed hard upon the widow, yet she managed to have her boy fitted for college. He himself, when the work was finished on their little farm,—only thirty acres—labored as a hired hand for the neighbors; at the age of sixteen for a while he drove the horses on the tow-path of a canal.

Having read Captain Marryatt's sea-stories, his imagination pictured the future when he too would be a sailor; from this dream he was awakened by the good sense and tact of his mother, and henceforth with untiring diligence he devoted himself to his books. Soon after he entered upon his preparatory studies in a neighboring academy, paying part of his expenses by performing the duties of janitor and another portion by being assistant teacher.

CHAP.
LXVIII
1847.

Thus prepared he entered the Junior class in Williams College, Massachusetts, where, at the age of twenty-five, he graduated, receiving the Metaphysical Honor of his class, one of the highest given by that institution to her graduates; meanwhile he had taken a noble stand among his fellow students. On his graduation he was invited to teach the classics in the institution—now become Hiram College—in which he had pursued his preparatory studies; at the close of the first year he was elected its president by the trustees. A laborious worker, his studies took a wide range; reading law meantime and preparing lectures on a number of subjects, which on his part required investigation, and preaching as opportunity served, he being connected with the denomination called "Church of the Disciples."

1856.

He now began to take a special interest in the political questions then agitating the country on the subject of slavery: his views were philosophical and comprehensive, taking in the relations of the system to individual liberty, and to the material progress of the Nation. Unexpectedly he was nominated, and elected by a large majority to the Senate of the State of Ohio. There his commanding talents were recognized, as he impressed his own views—not theoretical book-learning, but practical ideas—upon his fellow members by means of his well-arranged arguments, and his remarkable power in presenting them clearly. "His rule was never to speak on a subject unless he had thoroughly mastered it." He was admitted to the

1859

CHAP. bar of the Supreme Court of Ohio in 1860; six years
LXVIII. later to that of the Supreme Court of the United States.

1881.

After the firing on Sumter, when Mr. Lincoln called for 75,000 troops for a three months' service, Garfield was the first to rise in his place and move that Ohio furnish 20,000 men and appropriate three million dollars. These volunteers sprang to arms immediately, and were soon ready to move. Some months later other troops were called for and raised; to the command of one of these regiments Governor Dennison appointed Garfield, with the rank of colonel. When the men were ready, he was directed to occupy Catlettsburg, at the mouth of the Big Sandy, and he himself to report to Gen. Buell, who was in command of the Department of Ohio, headquarters at Louisville, Ky. The General directed Garfield to drive Gen. Humphrey Marshall out of Eastern Kentucky, who was then invading his native State with forces drawn chiefly from Virginia. It was known that Marshall was entrenched in a camp on the head streams of the Big Sandy, and that the disloyal were joining him. As it was necessary to act promptly, Garfield, whose force had been increased, ordered his little army by telegraph from headquarters to move up the Big Sandy some twenty-eight miles to Louisa, there he joined them and moved forward till within striking distance of the enemy; here he halted hoping to unite with a Union force coming from Paris. While thus waiting, he learned fully the position of the invaders. Unexpectedly a messenger came into camp from Gen. Buell; he brought only an intercepted letter from Marshall to his wife, in which he wrote that he was daily expecting to be attacked by ten thousand men. Gen. Buell had said: "Colonel Garfield, you will be so far from headquarters, you must act on your own responsibility." He did so; putting the letter in his pocket without communicating its contents to any one, he promptly made arrangements to attack the in-

1861,
Dec.
20.

Dec.
24.

vaders, offering as imposing a display as possible with his little army of fourteen hundred men, while Marshall had five thousand men and twelve cannon. The stratagem succeeded; the Union soldiers rushed on so vigorously from different points, that the Confederates after a short conflict became panic-stricken and fled—and were literally driven out of the State. A few weeks later Garfield, in recognition of this success, was created Brigadier-General of Volunteers—dating from this battle of Middle Creek. Soon afterward he was ordered with a portion of his forces to join Gen. Buell at Nashville, and with these troops he took part in the battle of Pittsburg Landing or Shiloh, where he commanded a brigade.

CHAP.
LXVIII.1862,
Jan.
10.April
7.

Gen. Garfield's health now failed, and he was compelled to retire from the army for its recovery. On its restoration he was detailed by the War Department as a member of a court martial held at Washington for the trial of Gen. Fitz John Porter. We again find him in the field under Gen. Rosecrans, then at Murfreesboro, Tenn., by whom he was appointed Chief of Staff. With the same commander he was at the battle of Chickamauga, where he was very efficient, exposing himself to much danger in the discharge of his duties. Two weeks later he was commissioned Major-general of Volunteers by the President, "for gallant conduct and important services."

Dec.
15.
1863,
Sept.
17.

Meantime Garfield had been elected to Congress, and at the urgent request of President Lincoln, he retired from the army and began his career as a national legislator. He took his seat, the youngest member in the House of Representatives; as he had been in the Legislature of Ohio, and the youngest brigadier in the army. The clash of arms was exchanged for that of intellect on the floor of the House, where he took an active part in

Dec. 4

CHAP. the discussions of the important questions coming before
 LXVIII. that body. His comprehensive views, and his power as
 1865. a close reasoner gave him great influence. At first he
 was assigned to the Committee on Military Affairs; af-
 terward, when the war was over, at his own request to
 the Committee of Ways and Means. He wished to study
 finance in all its phases, for he discerned that the great
 questions of the future would be on financial measures,
 including tariffs. When he was nominated for the
 1880. Presidency, he had already been chosen United States
 Senator by the Legislature of his native State.

James A. Garfield was inaugurated President of the
 United States on March 4, 1881. The next day he sent
 to the Senate the following nominations of gentlemen to
 compose his Cabinet. Without being referred to com-
 mittees, they were unanimously confirmed: James G.
 Blaine, of Maine, Secretary of State; William Windom,
 of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Thomas L.
 James, of New York, Postmaster-General; Robert Lin-
 coln, of Illinois, Secretary of War; William H. Hunt, of
 Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy; Wayne MacVeagh, of
 Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; and Samuel J. Kirk-
 wood, of Iowa, Secretary of the Interior.

We have seen that in the previous administration the
 financial measures of the Government inspired so much
 confidence in the commercial world, and in the minds of
 bond-holders, that the Secretary of the Treasury was
 enabled to call in the bonds as they came due, and pay
 their face value, or, at the option of the holders, change
 them to bonds bearing a lower rate of interest—four per
 cent. This change was made to such an extent as to save
 annually more than *thirteen million dollars* interest to
 the people. Mr. Secretary Windom, acting on the same
 principles, was able to save yearly to the Treasury *more*
than fifteen million dollars, from reduced interest on
 bonds. This was accomplished on the 1st of October,

1881, when the required operations were completed. This was done also at the option of the bond-holders, either by paying the face value of the bonds—five and six per cents—or by refunding them at the rate of *three and one half per cent per annum*. CHAP.
LXVIII
1881,
Oct.
1.

To accommodate foreign bondholders, and to prevent the drain of coin from the Treasury, an agency for the exchange of bonds was established in London—there the plan was equally successful. In the words of Secretary Windom, this portion of the National debt is reduced “to a loan payable at the option of the Government, and bearing interest at only *three and a half per cent per annum*. The debt itself meanwhile has been diminishing for the last few years at the annual rate of more than fifty million dollars. At the close of the Rebellion the National debt was \$2,844,649,626, and the annual interest on the same was \$150,000,000; the debt is now much diminished, and the annual interest on the same is only \$75,000,000. The total revenue for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1881, was \$363,000,000; while the balance of trade at the close of the same time was \$257,000,000 in favor of the United States. 1865,
Aug.
31.
1881.

June
30.

As an evidence of the integrity of the officials in the Internal Revenue Department, it is stated that of the more than six hundred million dollars collected in that service during the preceding five years, not one dollar failed to reach the Treasury.¹ And, also, as proof of the economy and industry of the people, it may be mentioned that during the year ending May 30, 1881, there were deposited in the Saving Banks in the Union nearly eight hundred and eighty-two million dollars.² It is estimated that the number of depositors is about two million five hundred thousand.

On July 2, 1881, the American people were shocked

¹ Commissioner Raum's Report, Dec. 5, 1881.

² Banker's Magazine, Sept., 1881, p. 190.

CHAP.
LXVIII1881,
July 2.

by the announcement that the President had been mortally wounded by a pistol shot of an assassin named Guiteau. Rumor soon after carried the report throughout the land that the President was no more. The manifestations of sorrow were intense, for by his generous and noble nature he had secured the respect of good men, and the love of those who knew him best. Some hours later the telegraph spread the news that he still survived, but there was little hope of his recovery; he himself bearing up against despondency by his cheerful Christian fortitude. On his asking the attending physician as to his injury, the reply was, "You have a chance for recovery." Then he said cheerfully, "Doctor, we'll take that chance." He murmured once and once only, "I don't know why they should shoot me; I have injured no one." The sympathies of the whole civilized world were greatly enlisted. From the heads of the Governments of Europe and from those of the far East, came messages of condolence. Conventions of men of science and religious assemblies in this land or in Europe, which happened to be in session, sent expressions of sympathy; from the Patriarch of the Armenian Church at Constantinople, and from His Holiness at Rome, came messages of kind words, and Sir Moses Montefiore telegraphed from London to his brethren in Palestine the request that prayers might be offered in behalf of the President in the synagogues of the four holy cities.¹ Days of fasting and prayer were appointed by the Governors of the respective States, and throughout the whole Union prevailed an earnest spirit of supplication to God, modified by a feeling that found expression in the words, "Thy will be done." The American people were especially gratified to learn of the depth of kind feeling that prevailed in England. In numbers of the churches and cathedrals special services of prayer were held, and the Queen herself sent a personal dispatch to Mrs. Garfield saying, "I

¹ Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed.

am most anxious to know how the President is to-day, and to express my deep sympathy with you both.”

CHAP.
LXVIII.

1881.

The President lay at the White House for sixty-six days, and often apparently at the verge of death. It was essential that he should be removed from the debilitating influence of that climate to an atmosphere more cool and more health-inspiring. Long Branch, on the ocean shore was decided upon. The Pennsylvania Railway furnished the train and its equipments—their most commodious and sumptuous car and three others. The Nation's invalid was placed on board by tender hands, and the train at 6.30 A.M. moved quietly off, and even when under full speed, with scarcely a perceptible vibration. So admirable were the arrangements, the right-of-way was given over six roads; a pilot-engine preceding the train by twenty minutes, and lest the patient should be disturbed, not a bell was rung nor a signal-whistle blown. The train for a portion of the time made seventy miles an hour, stopping only to replenish water and fuel. Along the route, especially through the cities, the people in sympathizing crowds stood silently by as the train passed, and none the less was this interest manifested at the minor stations. This feeling was not limited to the multitudes that saw the train gliding along swiftly and almost noiselessly as if conscious of the burden it was bearing, but the telegraph, as if in sympathy, laid aside business, to carry messages over the Union from almost every station passed, telling the hour and the condition of the patient, as reported by the physicians on written slips of paper, which were thrown from the train. Thousands upon thousands in the cities watched these bulletins as they appeared every few minutes. At length, after passing over nearly two hundred and forty miles, the cottage was reached; and in less than ten minutes the President was safely carried within. Here were witnessed similar manifestations; crowds of people had assembled and

Sept.
6.

CHAP. were silently awaiting the arrival of the train, and also
 LXVIII. carriages filled with summer visitors from the neighbor-
 1881. ing watering-places, while in shore lay twenty or thirty
 pleasure yachts, whose decks were covered with specta-
 tors.

Sept. The removal was in vain ; he lingered till the 19th of
 19. September, then passed away. President Garfield died
 at 35 minutes past 10 P.M., and the Vice-President, Ches-
 ter Alan Arthur, in the presence of a few gentlemen, at
 his residence in New York City, assumed the office of
 President at 2 A.M. on the 20th, Judge John R. Brady,
 of the Supreme Court of that State, administering the
 oath of office.

The President's remains were taken to Washington,
 where they lay in state for two days in the Rotunda
 under the dome of the Capitol ; thence they were trans-
 ferred to their last resting-place in Lake View Cemetery,
 Sept. Cleveland, Ohio. The funeral train from Long Branch
 26. to Washington, and thence to Cleveland, elicited every-
 where evidences of the Nation's sorrow. While at Wash-
 ington a magnificent wreath of flowers was brought
 from the British Legation, and placed on the casket ; the
 card attached read, "Queen Victoria to the memory of
 the late President Garfield. An expression of her sorrow
 and sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and the American
 Nation." The manifestations of grief were remarkable
 throughout the land ; public buildings, places of business,
 private dwellings, locomotives and trains, were draped in
 mourning ; and even more expressive were the emblems
 of grief in the simplest forms, as everywhere exhibited
 by those of the humbler classes in respect to wealth.

For eighty long days President Garfield was in the
 thoughts of the people as a heroic sufferer ; and he was
 cherished in their hearts as one of themselves. His
 domestic life was ennobling ; it was that of the Christian
 home—the corner-stone of the Nation's moral edifice.

The Convention in which he was nominated for the Presidency, in its perplexity of clashing opinions, instinctively turned to him at last, as the one man in whom they all could confide. He never sought an office ; it always came to him.

CHAP.
LXVIII.
1881.

An incident in President Garfield's life is still more striking to-day than at the time it occurred.¹ Congress had adjourned, and he was in New York City when the news came of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. On leaving his hotel he strolled down to Wall Street, not being aware that business was suspended, and instead a mass-meeting of business men was to be held in front of the Exchange. A crowd amounting to many thousands was already assembled ; a friend recognizing Garfield invited him to the platform. Speeches were made delineating the enormity of the crime, as well as the causes which led to its commission ; the exasperated multitude swayed with emotion, and was apparently being wrought up to a frenzy of excitement ; here and there in the crowd murmured words of vengeance were heard. Presently there appeared borne aloft two long pieces of scantling crossed like the letter X ; from their junction hung a rope with a slip-noose attached. A group of determined men accompanied this significant emblem as it moved slowly among the people ; suddenly some one shouted out giving orders where it should go ; in a twinkling the cross-beams commenced moving in the direction named, followed by an immense crowd. What would have been the result we may imagine, if these enraged citizens had not been diverted from their design of vengeance ; a telegram from Washington had come a few minutes before, saying, "Seward is dying." This announcement added strength to their determination. Garfield on the impulse sprang to his feet, and seizing one of the small flags,

1865,
Mar.
15.

¹ Edmund Kirke's *Life of Garfield*, p. 25.

CHAP. waved it till he attracted the attention of the moving
LXVIII crowd; thinking it was another telegram they halted in
1865. silence, then pointing toward heaven, and as if inspired
with reverential awe, he slowly and distinctly exclaimed:
"Fellow citizens! Clouds and darkness are round about
Him! His pavilion is dark waters, and thick clouds of
the skies! Justice and judgment are the habitation of
His throne! Mercy and truth shall go before His face!
Fellow citizens! God reigns; and the Government at
Washington still lives." The effect was marvelous.
The cross-beams were lowered; vengeance was left to
God. When afterward asked what words he had used,
he answered, "I cannot tell, I could not have told five
minutes afterward. I only know I drew the lightning
from that crowd and brought it back to reason."

The American people look upon those who rise from humble stations to success in life as the natural outgrowth of their systems of education, of self-respect induced by political liberty, and of the underlying principle that the pathway to success is open to every one in the sphere to which he is adapted by nature; be it in the humbler walks of life, or in positions of trust and responsibility. Their institutions supply the conditions: success depends upon the talents, the industry, and the integrity of the individual himself: and those thus trained constitute, in whatever sphere they move, what the better portion of the American people conceive as their ideal of nobility—that based on moral and intellectual worth. The peculiarity of this mode of training citizens has attracted the attention of thinking minds abroad. Says Dr. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, after giving a sketch of the character of Garfield: "All this was calculated to enlist our sympathy, and then we were taught to trace a career, such as England knows nothing of, and to wonder at the mode in which great men are formed in a country so like and yet so dissimilar from our own. All this I must say

to most of us was quite new. It opened up a picture of manhood, such as in this country we were little acquainted with."

CHAP.
LXVIII.
1881.

A marked change, which has greatly influenced politics, has been going on in our country for nearly half a century. The best elements in American society deem it of primary importance that statesmen, in addition to their qualifications as such, should be pure in their domestic life. The national conventions of political organizations on occasions when the whole people are to vote, are compelled to nominate candidates of unblemished moral lives for the higher offices in the State governments as well as for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency ; on no point are the people so strenuous as on this. They repudiate the theory that moral character is not an important element in the qualifications of public officials, they demand correct morals as well as statesmanship.

It is scarcely fair to compare this appreciation of morality by the vast majority of the American people, when they vote for their highest officials, with that of those nations who have no voice in the selection of their supreme rulers ; the latter claiming the sovereignty, not on the will of the governed but on the accidental claims of birth alone. Though the domestic example of a royal ruler may be injurious to the morals of the people, the latter have no redress. Sometimes ardent advocates of royalty attempt to explain away the equivocal position of such a ruler by endeavoring to separate the private moral character of the individual from his public or political character. There may be instances in which this evidence of correct moral appreciation is not so markedly clear as when the whole American people demand pure morals in their candidates for the highest offices of the nation. There may be Congressional or Assembly districts that occasionally send representatives whom the majority of the whole people would repudiate. This distinction is

CHAP. so clearly defined in practice, that one may be able from
LXVIII the character of the representative himself to divine
1881. quite clearly that of his especial constituents—those who
voted for him.

Within the space of forty years four Presidents have died in office, all virtually belonging to the same political organization. Of these the last two were assassinated, each of whom was remarkable for his kindly genial nature, and each seemed incapable of designedly doing that which might make personal enemies. We must look elsewhere for the causes that led to these dire results. In the case of Mr. Lincoln the influences that induced his assassination were the outgrowth of that spirit which had for generations outraged the most sacred rights of humanity, and, struggling in rebellion, became maliciously frenzied when its power was annihilated. The hatred which found expression in publishing vile epithets and vulgar abuse of President Lincoln, stimulated the assassin to imbrue his hands in the blood of the best friend of the surrendered South. Infinitely less excusable were the influences that led to the death of Garfield. There is abroad a spirit of assassination of character—which honorable men hold more dear than life—as well as of persons; the former inspired by those in a higher social scale, the latter among the low and vicious. It was misrepresentation and unrelenting abuse of the late President that influenced the groveling mind of a conceited and disappointed office-seeker to murder him. The question may be asked, which is inherently the greater criminal, the slanderer in high position or the assassin in low?

It is incumbent upon the American people to banish the spirit of slander and abuse by showing their condemnation of the crime. The disrespect shown to legitimate authority has an undermining effect upon the morals of the people, and has on a larger scale the same tendency to disorganize society that disobedience to parents has to

destroy the sacredness of home and injure permanently the character of children. The effect of these influences is to corrupt the inner life of the nation by a sort of moral blood-poisoning; it is inconsistent for citizens to deprecate slanderous publications, and at the same time by their patronage encourage them.

So much misrepresentation and falsehood are usually published by partisans, that intelligent people distrust all statements on political subjects until they are verified; to such an extent does this feeling prevail, that even gentlemen of opposite parties will take the word of each other on business affairs, but hesitate to do so on the subject of politics. Were the "Spoils System," so called, eliminated from the canvassing of questions of national policy, the temptation would be removed either for the misrepresentation of facts or for the slander of personal character. Such questions would then be calmly discussed, both parties being desirous to arrive at the truth and adopt the policy best suited to the whole country. The discussion might be earnest, but should no more induce undue excitement than resolving any ordinary question of political economy. If the minor offices in the service of the United States were conducted on the same principles that govern business men or corporations in managing their affairs, there would be no inducement for tricky demagogues to promise offices as rewards for personal services. The minor officers have only to perform their respective duties, since they have no more concern with the policy of the government than the general interest that other citizens have who may not be thus employed, or that the clerk has with the management of the firm or corporation in whose service he is, with the exception that they have their votes like all citizens on that policy which the government is about to adopt.

The case of the Cabinet or heads of departments in the United States Government is essentially different.

CHAP.
LXVIII
1881.

CHAP. LXVIII.
1881. They ought to be in sympathy with the principles of the party in power,—that is, of the majority of the people; and to secure harmony they should be appointed as they are now. It would be inconsistent, and would defeat the will of this majority, to have these officials refuse to carry out the policy virtually decided upon in the election that placed the advocates of that policy in power.

It is remarkable that the centre of the territory of the United States and the centre of its population are both near the thirty-ninth degree of north latitude. The former is not far from Abilene, Kansas, and the latter, as found by the census of 1880, is in Kentucky, about eight miles west by south of Cincinnati. In the estimate of territory, Alaska has been omitted. According to the first census (1790), the centre of population was east of Chesapeake Bay, about twenty-two miles from Baltimore, and a short distance north of the degree just mentioned; it has since been moving westward, but near the same parallel of latitude, meanwhile crossing it four times.

For thirty years this centre remained east of the Alleghanies; but from 1820 to 1830 it swayed south of the 39th parallel. During that time Florida was obtained and large settlements were made in the Gulf States; then from 1830 to 1840 it crossed to the north of that parallel, a large population—native and foreign—having poured into the States south and west of the Great Lakes; from 1840 to 1850 it crossed to the south of the line—meantime Texas having been annexed; from 1850 to 1860, California was obtained, and the centre moved west faster than usual, crossed the Ohio and to the north of the parallel; from 1860 to 1870 it still moved west by north; while from 1870 to 1880 it moved southwest, coming very near the parallel. From 1880 to 1890 it took a northwest direction, across the Ohio into the State of Indiana, to a point about fifty miles west by north from Cincinnati.

CHAPTER LXIX.

ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—The two Law Cases.—The Second Oath of Office.—The Inaugural.—Destructive Fires.—Yorktown Celebration.—Meeting of Congress and the Message.—Arctic Explorations.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR was born in October 5, 1830, in Franklin County, Vermont. When a boy his father, an Irishman and a Baptist clergyman, removed to the State of New York. Young Arthur was fitted for college under the supervision of his father, a ripe scholar in the classics. He entered Union College, N. Y., when only fifteen years of age, and took class honors each year. He taught meanwhile occasionally to aid in his support as a student, but keeping up with his class in his studies; on graduating he ranked in scholarship with the first six of a class of one hundred members. After his graduation Arthur took charge for a time of an Academy in North Pownal, Vermont, in which institution Garfield afterward taught when he was a student in Williams College. He studied law and entered upon the practice of his profession in the City of New York.

Mr. Arthur became identified with two cases of law in which he was successful, and the decision in both instances had great influence. One was the famous Lemmon case, in which a gentleman of that name brought eight slaves from Norfolk, Va., to New York City, intending to transfer them in a sailing vessel to Texas, whither he himself was migrating. At the solicitation of a committee of the colored people, Arthur, by writ of

CHAP.
LXIX.
1830.

1852.

CHAP. *habeas corpus*, applied to the court and succeeded in
 LXIX securing their freedom, as the Fugitive Slave Law passed
 1852. two years before did not apply, these negroes not being
 "fugitives." To aid him in the case Mr. Arthur secured
 the services of Wm. M. Evarts. The other case had a
 similar result. On a Sunday a respectable and neatly
 dressed colored woman was returning from her duties as
 superintendent of a colored Sunday-school, when she
 stepped on board a street car, paid her fare and took
 her seat. Presently a "drunken white man," with im-
 precatious, insisted that she should not ride in the same
 car with him. The conductor asked her to leave, she re-
 fused, a struggle ensued, the police were called in and she
 was forcibly ejected from the car, her dress being almost
 torn to shreds in the struggle. To Mr. Arthur she ap-
 pealed for redress; he undertook her case and obtained a
 verdict against the railway for five hundred dollars dam-
 ages. The company promptly paid the money, and ever
 after the colored people on equal conditions with other
 citizens have ridden in the public conveyances of the
 city and State of New York.

When the Rebellion began, Edwin D. Morgan, Gov-
 ernor of the State of New York, appointed Mr. Arthur
 Inspector-General, and soon after to the office of Quarter-
 master-General, a position of great responsibility. Though
 the war accounts of New York were so much larger than
 those of any other State, yet they were the first handed
 in at Washington, and when audited were found perfect,
 not a dollar but was accounted for. When the Governors
 of the loyal States privately assembled in the city of New
 York to concert measures in aid of the National Govern-
 ment, Mr. Arthur was the only gentleman invited to meet
 with them in consultation as to the best means of aiding
 the loyal cause with men and material, his remarkable
 executive ability being thus recognized. When appointed
 to the Collectorslip of the port of New York, he managed

July,
 1862.

the affairs of the office so perfectly, that when renomi-
 nated four years afterward he was unanimously confirmed
 by the Senate without reference to the usual committee.

CHAP.
 LXIX.
 1881.

After Garfield's death, in order to have a record of the new official inauguration at the Capital it was thought better to have Mr. Arthur take the oath of office also at Washington. This was administered by Chief Justice Waite in the presence of the Cabinet, ex-Presidents Grant and Hayes, Gen. Sherman, Senator Sherman and Justice Strong of the U. S. Supreme Court. The ceremony was informal but very solemn. The President delivered a brief inaugural. After alluding feelingly to the sad event that had placed him in his present position he says : " All the noble aspirations of my lamented predecessor which found expression in his life, the measures devised and suggested during his brief administration to correct abuses and enforce economy, to advance prosperity and promote the general welfare, to insure domestic security and maintain friendly and honorable relations with the nations of the earth, will be garnered in the hearts of the people, and it will be my earnest endeavor to profit, and to see that the nation shall profit by his example and experience."

Destructive forest fires occurred in the State of Michigan during the first week in September. A terrific hurricane was blowing at the time, and the fire leaped from the forest across the clearings and burned the houses and barns of the inhabitants. Several hundred persons perished from the flames and exposure, and the cattle and other domestic animals died by thousands. It is estimated that several hundred square miles of territory were literally burned over, and whole villages were destroyed almost entirely. As is usual in such cases, the people's sympathies were enlisted and assistance in the form of money and needed supplies flowed in to aid the sufferers.

Since the Centennial celebration of the conflict at

CHAP. Lexington, April 19, 1775, there have been many others
 LXIX. partaking in some instances of a local rather than a national
 1881. interest. A few were national, as they commemorated
 events which had a commanding influence upon the progress of the Revolution. "The Centennial" in 1876, because of the day it commemorated, was purely national in its character, and as such was by far the most important; then came the celebration at Saratoga,¹ which, because of its influence, has been reckoned among the fifteen decisive battles of the world,² as it was this victory which decided the French government to acknowledge the Independence of the United States. Then followed the treaty with that power, and the alliance which in due time brought aid both by sea and land to the decisive campaign, which ended with the surrender of Cornwallis on the 19th of October, 1781. This surrender being the most important of all events of that period except the Declaration, its anniversary became more than usually interesting to the people of the United States, as that victory was the virtual end of the war. The celebration was rendered still more striking by the presence of the invited guests of the nation—Frenchmen and Germans. They were the descendants or relatives of the officers belonging to these nations, who in that day aided in the cause—Lafayette, Rochambeau, Dé Grasse and the Baron von Steuben.³

The Forty-seventh Congress assembled on Monday, December 5th; when both Houses were organized President Arthur sent in his first annual Message. After alluding to the bereavement of the nation in the loss of President Garfield, he proceeds to discuss the affairs of the country. In relation to the neutrality and guarantee of the Panama Canal he assumes the same position that was taken by President Garfield, and enunciated by Sec-

¹ Hist. p. 481.

² Chesley's Fifteen Battles.

³ See Patton's Memorial of the Yorktown Celebration.

retary Blaine in his note to Mr. Lowell, our Minister to CHAP.
LXIX.
Great Britain. The Message says: "My lamented predecessor felt it his duty to place before the European 1881.
powers the reasons which make the prior guarantee of the United States indispensable, and for which the interjection of any foreign guarantee might be regarded as a superfluous and unfriendly act." "I have not hesitated to supplement the action of my predecessor by proposing to her Majesty's Government the modification of that instrument (the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, 1850), and the abrogation of such clauses thereof as do not comport with the obligations of the United States toward Colombia, or with the vital needs of the two friendly parties to the compact."

On Civil Service Reform the Message says: "Original appointments should be based upon ascertained fitness. The tenure of office should be stable. Positions of responsibility should so far as practicable be filled by the promotion of worthy and efficient officers." On the Indian question he recommended that lands or homesteads should be allotted in severalty to such Indians as desire it to induce them to become civilized; he also urged that liberal appropriations be made to support schools for Indian children.

All the members of Garfield's Cabinet, except Sec. Lincoln, resigned. The new officers were: F. T. Frelinghuysen of N. J., Secretary of State; C. T. Folger of N. Y., Treasury; Wm. E. Chandler of Vt., Navy; Henry M. Teller of Col., Interior; T. O. Howe of Wis., Postmaster-General; Benj. H. Brewster of Penn., Attorney-General.

The country continued to advance in its prosperity during the whole of the year 1881. The income from Internal Revenue was unprecedentedly large, owing to our industrial progress, and the consequent increase of general business throughout the country, as well as that

CHAP. derived from duties on imported merchandise. The sur-
 LXIX. plus of these importations has been very largely of arti-
 1881. cles of luxury, such as textile fabrics of an unusually
 expensive character; works of art of almost every variety,
 evincing a tendency in those having the means to gratify
 their taste in the adornments of persons or of dwellings.
 These heavy importations of luxuries must aid in turning
 the balance of trade against us, seeing that our exports
 may not be hereafter so large as for the last few years,
 when the crops of Europe were comparatively short.
 Financial prudence takes alarm at this unusual expendi-
 ture.¹

The last six months of the year paid off more than
 \$75,000,000 of the national debt, which on Jan. 1, 1882,
 was in round numbers about \$1,703,000,000.

The American people have taken an interest in explo-
 rations, not only in the Antarctic Ocean, but also in the
 Arctic,² in efforts to reach the North Pole. After Dr.
 Kane's return from his unsuccessful attempt to rescue
 Sir John Franklin, Dr. Isaac J. Hayes, who accompanied
 him in capacity of surgeon, organized an expedition to
 explore what he believed to be an open sea around the
 Pole. This theory is held by many, though it has not
 yet been verified; thus far the discoveries made do not
 prove its fallacy. Dr. Hayes was aided by private sub-
 1860. scriptions; he sailed from Boston direct for the west
 July 6. coast of Greenland, arriving at Upernavik (74° north) in
 that country on the 12th of August. His picked crew
 consisted of only fourteen men, but here he obtained a
 few more. He sailed again, expecting to reach a point
 Aug. about 79° or 80° north, but was frozen in in latitude 78°.
 20. By means of sledges and with much toil he reached Grin-
 1861. nell Land, 81° 35' north lat. and west long. 70° 30', be-
 May yond which further progress was impeded on account of
 11. rotten ice and cracks. This was the most northerly point

¹ Hist. p. 1059.

² Hist. pp. 742, 841.

thus far reached. From a high peak of land in the vicinity Dr. Hayes saw what he believed to be the open sea surrounding the Pole, but still further north appeared other high land.

Captain Charles F. Hall, a practical whaler who became interested in the subject, set out on an exploration from New London, Conn., in 1860 in a whale-ship; unfortunately losing his boat he was compelled to return without accomplishing his purpose. Nothing daunted, he organized another expedition and sailed for the Arctic regions in 1864. He penetrated north of Hudson's Bay, and brought home many relics of Sir John Franklin and much important information. Captain Hall spent five years among the Esquimaux; learning their language and obtaining a knowledge of their customs; he returned to the United States in 1869. He now received aid from Congress and again sailed in the schooner *Polaris*, 400 tons burden. He reached $81^{\circ} 38'$ north, but impeded by ice he made a sledge expedition, and reached $82^{\circ} 16'$ —about 502 statute miles from the Pole; he returned to the ship, where soon after he was taken ill and suddenly died. Captain Tyson of Hall's crew with eighteen others became separated from the latter, when suddenly the ice on which they were, separated from the main field and they were carried away; thus they floated, in different directions, about two thousand miles, and were finally rescued by the British steamship *Tigress*.

Lieutenant Frederick Schwatka, of the United States Army, left New York in the ship *Eothen*. This expedition was fitted out by private subscription, the main object being to ascertain more fully in respect to the fate of Sir John Franklin. It was very successful.

A recent expedition (1879) under the command of Lieutenant De Long was fitted out by the munificence of James Gordon Bennett of New York City. De Long, in a staunch steam vessel, the *Jeannette*, chose the new

CHAP.
LXIX.
1861.

1864.

1871.

1878.
June
19.

CHAP. route through Behring Straits; all the others passed up
LXIX. either the west side of Greenland or the west side of
1881. Norway. When fairly through the Straits the *Jeannette*
headed toward the Pole, but when in the latitude of
about 71° was caught in the ice near an island since
known as *Herald Island*, and thence held fast; she floated
helplessly twenty-one months in a north-westerly direction,
until finally crushed by the ice in latitude about 77° and
near west longitude 160° from Greenwich. The crew
took to the boats, and a portion of them reached land at
the mouth of the river Lena in the Russian Empire.
George W. Melville, engineer of the expedition, one of
the survivors, heroically returned with well-equipped
forces, found and buried the bodies of De Long and his
companions (April 7, 1882), and secured the records.

Prof. Nordenskjöld, sailing from Tromsø in Norway
on the Atlantic, passed round to the east and reached
Behring Straits in the Pacific, thus accomplishing the
long sought for "North-east Passage" (1878-9).

Meanwhile, expeditions had been fitted out in Eu-
rope—from Germany, Austria, Denmark, Norway, France
and England. The English Lieut. Aldrich, under Com-
mandant Nares in 1876, reached the nearest point to
the Pole, $83^{\circ} 07' N.$, and Commander Markham of the
same expedition attained to $83^{\circ} 20' 26'' N.$

These explorations have assumed an international char-
acter. The plan proposed is for each government at
some convenient point to establish depots for provisions
and suitable materials for making repairs. Parties can
avail themselves of these as starting points, and fall back
upon them when necessity requires. The United States
government has already two such stations; one at Point
Barrow and one at Lady Franklin Bay—north of Smith
Sound—about $81^{\circ} 30'$ north and 50° west longitude. The
latter is the most northerly point ever inhabited for a length
of time; it being about 588 statute miles from the Pole.

Russia has a similar station at the mouth of the Lena river, and the remaining European governments propose to establish at least seven other depots which explorers can make available. CHAP.
LXIX.
1881.

Point Barrow is the extreme northern point of land belonging to Alaska, and is very near the 156th degree of west longitude and about 71 degrees north. This station is also used as a place of refuge for American ships that visit the Arctic Ocean in pursuit of whales, when they find themselves in need of assistance. The station is equipped with the appliances required for such purpose, and adapted for that region of the dangers occurring from snow and floating fields of ice. It is also supplied with provisions suited to probable exigencies of the case, and in consequence, the whalers often make it a stopping-place. The station has recently been completely fitted out in every respect.

The interest of the people in these discoveries did not flag, and Congress, in 1880, ordered an appropriation for an expedition to make "scientific observations and explorations in the Arctic seas." Lieutenant Adolphus W. Greely of the army was detailed for the purpose and placed in command, on June 17, 1881. Three years were spent in this service; a great amount of valuable information was obtained; and a sledging-party, composed of Lieut. James B. Lockwood and Serg't David L. Brainerd, with an Eskimo named Christiansen, reached nearer the North Pole than ever before. That point, being verified by instruments, was found to be $83^{\circ} 24'$ north latitude:—that is, about 450 statute miles from the Pole. The Stars and Stripes were planted, and the party, compelled by necessity, turned back. Across an open sea they saw toward the north a point of land apparently fifteen miles distant, which they named Cape Washington.

CHAPTER LXX.

ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION—CONTINUED.

House of Representatives ; number of members fixed.—Tariff Commission.—Tariff of 1883.—National Banks.—Civil Service Examinations.—Labor Bureau.—The Nation's Capital.—Washington Monument.—Morrison Tariff.—Presidential Canvass and Platforms.—Number of Votes Cast.—Expositions in Atlanta and New Orleans.

CHAP. LXX. The Forty-Seventh Congress during its first session fixed by law the number of the members of the House of Representatives at 325 for ten years, commencing with 1882. the Forty-Eighth Congress, March 4, 1883, and ending Feb. 25. with the Fifty-Third, March 3, 1893. The ratio of constituents for each Congressman, as based on the census of 1880, is 151,918. The ratio of constituents for each member of the *First* Congress in 1789 was 30,000.

The continued prosperity in the industries of the country induced a state of financial affairs, quite unusual among nations—that of having a surplus of revenue. The United States Government had more income than was required to pay its current expenses, the interest on the debt, and also to lift the outstanding bonds as they became due. Hence arose the question, how to diminish the revenue. The bonds that had a long time to run could be canceled only by paying a very high premium, and that fact suggested another consideration:—was it fair that this generation alone should bear the burdens of the war debt, and by paying it, relieve the people of the

future? To meet this difficulty, Congress authorized the President to appoint, with the advice and consent of the Senate, a "Tariff Commission" of nine members. This Commission was enjoined "to take into consideration and thoroughly investigate all the various questions relating to the agricultural, mining and industrial interests of the United States, so far as the same may be necessary to the establishment of a judicious tariff or a revision of the existing tariff upon a scale of justice to all interests." The Commission was selected with great care, having for its members, civilians, gentlemen of intelligence and practical wisdom. On the subjects of investigation, it visited the different centres of manufacturing, of mining and of mercantile interests and heard patiently and recorded the opinions of manufacturers and merchants, of extreme protectionists, of absolute free traders and of believers in a tariff for revenue only, inviting men of intelligence in the various fields of industry to give their views and furnish statistics in relation to the subjects with which they were specially conversant. The Commission had in view to adjust the rate of the tariff and also that of the internal revenue so as to diminish the annual income of the Government by \$70,000,000, which was deemed a sufficient reduction. After a careful and laborious investigation, they were able to make their report to Congress at the time designated—December 4, 1882.

Congress, in the main following the suggestions of the Commission, passed a revised tariff to take effect on July 1, 1883. The main features of this revision may be summed up: in respect to imported articles of luxury and of great value the tariff was not diminished, but sometimes increased; on many articles of general use it was reduced. In respect to internal revenue the tax was taken off numerous classes of articles, but not much off tobacco, whiskey and other classes of spirituous

CHAP. liquors—these being deemed luxuries of even doubtful
 LXX. utility. This revised tariff and schedule of diminished
 1884. rates in the Internal revenue tax, went into effect; but
 July 1. after one year's experiment, it was found that the income from imports was diminished only \$23,000,000 instead of the forty that had been estimated, and that of internal revenue \$19,000,000 instead of thirty. The prosperity of the country had been so great that the people were able to purchase more than usual of high-priced foreign articles, while their industrial energy produced more than usual of home manufactures, the lower tariff on the cheaper grades not having been changed enough to make any difference either in volume of importations or in home prices; in consequence, the revenue from both sources was diminished only forty-two million instead of the seventy anticipated. The Commission in its estimates had erred, but on the safe side, so far as concerned the protective policy of the dominant party and the national income, as the Government had still a surplus instead of a deficiency. Meanwhile, during the same year the national debt had been reduced \$101,000,000 and the interest on the same five millions. This debt on November 1, 1884, was \$1,417,159,862.

1882. The national banks¹ had now been in existence nearly
 July 12. twenty years, and their utility in promoting exchange, and thereby encouraging the industries and inter-State commerce, was so valuable that Congress passed an act authorizing any such bank or association to renew its charter for twenty years under the usual conditions and with the approval of the Comptroller of the Currency. The number of national banks that had been chartered up to that time was 2,958, located in every State.

The introduction of what is termed the "spoils system" in 1829² became, as we have seen, a corrupting influence in our politics, and had, as a matter of course,

¹ Hist., p. 991.

² Hist., pp. 705, 730.

grown to greater and greater proportions as the party so long in power more and more attracted to itself the self-seeking elements. The agitation to counteract this evil by a reform of the civil service began in 1871, when the investigation of the subject was entrusted to a commission¹. Congress finally embodied the main features of the proposed reform in a law. The latter consists of fifteen sections, the sum of which is as follows: "For open competition examinations for testing the fitness of applicants for the public service. . . . That all the offices shall be filled by selections from among those graded highest as the results of such competitive examinations. . . . That there shall be a period of probation before any absolute appointment is made. . . . That no person in the public service is for that reason under any obligation to contribute to any political fund or render any political service. . . . That no person habitually using intoxicating beverages to excess shall be appointed to or retained in any office to which the provisions of this act are applicable."

CHAP.
LXX.
1883.
Jan. 16.

Upon the passage of this act President Arthur issued the following rules: "*First*—No person in civil service shall use his office, his official authority or influence, either to coerce the political action of any person or body to interfere with any election. *Second*—No person in the public service shall for that reason be under any obligation to contribute to any political fund or render any political service, and he will not be removed or otherwise prejudiced for refusing to do so."

The important interests of labor within the nation having been recognized more fully than formerly, Congress created by law "A Bureau of Labor in the Interior Department, the Commissioners of which shall collect information upon the subject of Labor in its relations to Capital, the hours of labor and the earnings of laboring

¹ Hist., pp. 1068, 1091.

CHAP. men and women, and the means of promoting their ma-
LXX. terial, social, intellectual and moral prosperity."

1783. The Continental Congress in 1783 had passed a reso-
Aug. 7. lution to commemorate the patriotic services of George Washington by an equestrian statue, which was to be erected "where the residence of Congress shall be established." This resolution was not carried into immediate effect, because Congress then had no fixed place of meeting or "residence," and there were no funds available. Afterward, when the present government was established, Congress authorized the President (Washington) to select a site on the Potomac for the national capital, which duty he performed and also supervised the laying-out of the city, a French engineer—M. Pierre Charles L'Enfant—making the necessary surveys. Because of its extent the plan was for a time much ridiculed by certain writers in the newspapers, who could not appreciate the comprehensive views of Washington. Since the nation has so much extended its territory, and so much increased in population, it is fitting that it have a large and beautiful capital, whose plan may be susceptible of improvements corresponding to the onward progress of the nation from age to age. The undulating surface of the site supplies one of the conditions; while the original plan of the city, with its wide cross-streets and noble avenues, has shown itself the best that could have been devised. As a national capital Washington has pre-eminent advantages, and a prospective grandeur of which no other such city can boast.

1790.
Dec 6.

George Washington died on December 14, 1799, and Congress met for the first time in the present capital on the first Monday of December, 1800. The proposal for a memorial for the Father of his Country was renewed, and the following Congress appointed a Committee on the subject, which recommended that "a Mausoleum for George Washington be erected in the City of Washing-

ton. Congress adopted the recommendation of the Committee, and voted funds to carry it into effect. However, no definite action was taken. Thirty-two years afterward a few inhabitants of the city itself, wearied with the continued delay of Congress, formed a "Monument Association," and appealed for aid to the people themselves, whose subscriptions were to be limited to one dollar each. Money came in slowly this time also, and fifteen years passed before enough was collected to authorize the Association to begin building. Congress meanwhile had made a grant and decided upon the site for the monument. The work was commenced and the corner-stone laid.

CHAP.
LXX.
1801.
Jan. 1.

1848.
July 4.

The Association continued its management, but for want of funds the work progressed very slowly. After the close of the Civil War Congress assumed the responsibility of finishing the monument, and making from time to time the required appropriations, completed the work under the supervision of its own officers. It is the highest stone column ever erected by man, its height being 555 feet. The cap or apex of the monument is made of the metal aluminum, in the form of a four-sided pyramid. The whole civilized world took an interest in the completion of this monument. The Association invited other nations to take part by sending blocks of stone to be inserted in the walls. These blocks, nearly one hundred in number, coming from as many governments, societies and associations of men, have been placed in the interior of the column, where they can be seen with their various inscriptions and emblems, and where they are ever to remain, mementoes of the interest manifested by the givers in the memory of George Washington.

On the occasion of laying the corner-stone Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, of Boston, pronounced an appropriate and eloquent oration, and now, thirty-seven years afterward, on invitation, he prepared an address to cele-

CHAP. brate the completion of the monument, but owing to the
 LXX. feebleness of his health the address was read by a friend,
 1885. ex-Governor Long, of Massachusetts. In it Mr. Win-
 Feb. 22. throp, in referring to Washington, says: "Of that name,
 of that character, of that example, of that glorious guid-
 ing light, our obelisk, standing on the very spot selected
 by Washington himself for a monument to the American
 Revolution, and on the site that marks our national
 meridian, will be a unique memorial and symbol for-
 ever."

1883. The Tariff question was not perceptibly settled by the
 law of 1883, but on the assembling of Congress it was
 again taken up. The debate on the Morrison tariff bill—
 thus named from the Democratic member who intro-
 duced it—in the House of Representatives, during the
 first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, indicated great
 diversity of opinion among our legislators; some advo-
 cating a tariff for revenue only, some free trade, others a
 tariff to equalize the cost of production, and still others a
 high wall of protection against foreign competition.
 The discussion was prolonged and afterward continued
 in the newspapers, and then passed over into the Presi-
 dential canvass of 1884. The progress in the general
 industries of the country had been so great for the few
 previous years that there was on hand an unusual amount
 of various manufactured goods, in truth far beyond the
 demands of the people, and in consequence of this in-
 judicious overproduction, certain classes of manufacturing
 partially ceased during the greater portion of the years
 1883-84, and labor for the time was quite depressed.

In the Presidential canvass of 1884 the national con-
 ventions of the main political parties—the Republican and
 the Democratic—were both held in Chicago; the former
 meeting on June 5 and the latter on July 10, 1884.
 They professed to enunciate the political and economical
 principles of each. The Republican convention pledged

itself "to correct the inequalities of the tariff, and to reduce the surplus by such methods as will relieve the tax-payers without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country. . . . We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, and the enforcement of the eight-hour law. . . . The reform of the civil service, auspiciously begun under a Republican administration, should be completed by its extension to all grades of the service to which it is applicable. . . . The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count and correct returns." The Democratic convention announced "that as the Nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and old issues perish. . . . That the Government should not always be controlled by one political party. . . . Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will. . . . That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000, which has been yearly collected from a suffering people. . . . That the party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests, and to promote their healthy growth. . . . We demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes. . . . We believe in a free ballot and a fair count. . . . We favor honest civil service reform. . . . We favor free education by common schools. . . . We oppose sumptuary laws, which vex the citizen and interfere with individual liberty."

It will be seen that so far as words can indicate, there was but little difference between the declared purposes of the two parties except that each was intent upon securing control of the Government; and, in fact, the canvass finally turned largely upon the candidates. Much had been said and written, in and out of Congress, for and against the protective policy of the Republican

CHAP.
LXX.
1884.

CHAP. party and its result in the enormous surplus left in the
LXX hands of the Government, which was by many regarded
1884. as caused by "unnecessary and therefore unjust taxation." But while many Republicans shared the growing opposition to the policy, many Democrats were "high-tariff men," and thus both parties were timid as to outspoken expression on the real difference between the two. Both announced a necessity for "revising the tariff;" but the Democrats asserted that it should be revised by a party opposed to its principle of "taxing all for the benefit of a few," while the Republicans claimed that it should be "revised by its friends, in the interest of protecting American industries."

The Republican convention nominated James G. Blaine, of Maine, for President, and John A. Logan, of Illinois, for Vice-President; the Democratic, nominated Grover Cleveland, of New York, for the first office and Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, for the second. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi, the candidates of the Greenback Labor party, had been regularly put in nomination at Indianapolis, May 28; and John P. St. John, of Kansas, and William Daniel, of Maryland, the candidates of the Prohibition party, were nominated by a convention held in Pittsburgh, July 23, 1884. In the election, held November 4, 1884, the candidates nominated by the Democratic convention were chosen, and the Lower House of Congress became Democratic by one hundred and eighty-two members to one hundred and forty Republicans—a majority of forty-two; the Senate remaining Republican. Throughout the Union, according to law, the number of inhabitants represented by each Congressman is the same, but in this election there was a marked discrepancy in the different sections in the average number of votes cast for each. In the *twenty-two* original free-labor States the average number of votes cast for each Con-

gressman was 34,595; in the *five* border States it was CHAP.
 29,360; and in the *eleven* recent Confederate States, LXX.
 22,958. 1884.

As an evidence of the increasing interest in material progress in the southern section of the country, may be cited two Expositions: one held in Atlanta, Georgia, in which were exhibited remarkably fine specimens of the productions of that section, agricultural and otherwise. The Exposition partook almost of a national character, as so many of the products of mechanical industries were sent from the manufacturing centres of the northern section to be placed on exhibition. The other and similar Exposition was held in New Orleans in the winter (1884-85); the latter in its design was more comprehensive than the former. One object was to demonstrate the importance to the foreign trade of the Great Valley, in having a port so accessible as that of New Orleans; another to encourage the development of the peculiar agricultural resources around the Gulf, and also to stimulate the enterprise of our neighbors, the inhabitants of the sister republics south of the Rio Grande.

The administration of Mr. Arthur drew to a close. Though disturbed at first by the tragic death of President Garfield, it had been one in which the nation made progress in its commerce, in its industries, both mechanical and agricultural, in its educational interests, increase of population and in the founding of homes for happy families in the unoccupied territories of the far West, and thus peace and prosperity reigned throughout the land. President Arthur, although embarrassed by the mode of his entrance upon the great office, fulfilled the hopes of his friends, and gave the country an able, dignified, honorable and satisfactory administration of the vast interests committed to his hands.

CHAPTER LXXI.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inaugural and Cabinet.—Death of General Grant.—Funeral Services in the U. S.—In Westminster Abbey.—Death of General McClellan.—Auditing the Books of the Treasury.—The Financial Policy.—Revision of Tariff Attempted.—Labor Arbitration.—Presidential Succession.—Counting the Electoral Votes.—Inter-State Commerce Act.—Presidential Candidates and Platforms.—Department of Agriculture.—Public Schools.—Admission of States.

CHAP. Grover Cleveland, the son and third child of Richard
 LXXI. F. Cleveland, a Presbyterian clergyman, was born at
 1837. Caldwell, New Jersey, on the 18th day of March, 1837. His father was of English descent, and his mother of Irish and German. She is described as a woman "with a kindly face and unusual strength of character." The father, in order to become pastor of a church in the State of New York, moved thither when Grover was a child. The latter at the age of fourteen began to earn his own living as a clerk in a country store. This employment he soon left in order to prepare himself to enter Hamilton College; but, shortly after, the father died, leaving a widow and nine children, and they in limited circumstances; thus the want of means compelled the boy to relinquish a collegiate education, and he devoted himself to the support of his mother and her family. Afterward he engaged in teaching school; but at the age of nineteen entered a legal firm in Buffalo in the capacity of a clerk, meanwhile studying law. Eight

years afterward he was admitted to the bar, and four years later he was elected as a Democratic candidate to the office of Assistant District Attorney for the County of Erie. In 1871 he was elected Sheriff of the county and served in that office four years with business-like efficiency. Eight years later he was chosen Mayor of the city of Buffalo. The latter result was the outgrowth of a union, without reference to political parties, of those who wished reform in their municipal affairs, which had been shamefully mismanaged; and Mr. Cleveland's record thus far led them to believe him to be the man to reform the abuses.

CHAP.
LXXI.
1828.
Jan. 1.

His energetic, honest, and able administration of the Mayoralty of Buffalo won for him the marked esteem of all classes of his fellow-citizens; so much so that the suggestion of his name in connection with the Governorship of the State was first suggested by a Republican newspaper in Buffalo, although he had always been and still continued a "Democrat of the Democrats."¹ No citizen of Buffalo had as yet ever held the office, while there was a prevailing sentiment among the people in the extreme Western portion of the State that in this respect they had been slighted. Mr. Cleveland was elected by an unprecedented majority—195,000. This—like his election to the Buffalo mayoralty—was owing to disagreements in the Republican party, and for a purpose thousands of that organization voted for him, having seen how the Republicans of Buffalo had been justified, who had voted for this Democrat as Mayor of a Republican city. Mr. Cleveland's record as Governor pleased a large portion of his own party, although his bold vetoing of many bills which he did not approve from the Democratic Legislature caused much dissatisfaction. The Democratic Convention, however, nominated him for the Presidency, as their

¹ Dorsheimer's "Life of Cleveland."

CHAP. most available man, Mr. James G. Blaine being the
 LXXI. Republican candidate. The contest was hot and the
 1884. result close, turning upon the vote of New York State.

It is an interesting commentary on the importance of a national as compared with a State election, in the eyes of the rural voters, that although Mr. Cleveland received 27,836 more votes than when he had been elected Governor, his total of 563,154 votes was barely enough to give him New York's electoral vote, by a plurality of 1,047 over his chief opponent, Mr. Blaine, while he lacked more than fifty thousand of having a majority of the entire vote of the State—25,000 having voted for the Prohibitionist candidate and an equal number not having voted at all. A presidential election brings out thousands of voters who take no interest in minor contests.

Grover Cleveland was inaugurated President March 4, 1885, the oath of office being administered by Chief Justice Waite. A pleasing incident of the ceremony was Mr. Cleveland's using a small pocket Bible, which had been presented him when a boy by his mother.

The President in his Inaugural Address—that of the first Democratic President since 1860—was conciliatory in tone. Among other things he said: "At this hour the animosities of political strife, the bitterness of partisan defeat and the exultation of partisan triumph should be supplanted by an ungrudging acquiescence in the popular will and a sober, conscientious concern for the general weal. A due regard for the interests and prosperity of all the people demands that . . . our system of revenue shall be so adjusted as to relieve the people of unnecessary taxation, having a due regard to the interests of capital invested and workingmen employed on American industries, and preventing the accumulation of a surplus in the Treasury to tempt extravagance and waste. . . . The people demand reform in the administration of the Government, and the ap-

plication of business principles to public affairs. As a CHAP. means to this end Civil Service reform should be in good LXXI. faith enforced. . . . In the administration of a gov- 1885. ernment pledged to do equal and exact justice to all men, there should be no pretext for anxiety touching the protection of the freedmen in their rights or their security in the enjoyment of their privileges under the Constitution and its Amendments. . . . The fact that they are citizens entitles them to all the rights due to that relation, and charges them with all its duties, obligations and responsibilities."

The Inaugural also urged the strict application of the Monroe doctrine, economy in the expenditures of the Government, the suppression of Mormon polygamy, the protection of the Indians and their admission to citizenship, and closed by invoking for the nation the Divine guidance and blessing.

President Cleveland invited to his Cabinet the following gentlemen: Secretary of State, Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware; Secretary of the Treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; Secretary of War, William C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; Secretary of the Interior, L. Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; Postmaster-General, William F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; and Attorney General, A. H. Garland, of Arkansas; all of whom were promptly confirmed by the Senate.

The XLIXth Congress did not meet until the usual Dec. 7. time, the first Monday in December. Before the arrival of that day occurred the deaths of two prominent Americans, General and ex-President U. S. Grant, and General George B. McClellan.

After his retirement from the Presidency, General Grant, accompanied by Mrs. Grant, had spent two years and four months in travelling, visiting Europe and the Holy Land, and finally completing a tour around the world. In the countries he visited no private citizen had

CHAP. ever before received so much honor and attention, his
LXXI. tour being almost a continuous ovation. On returning
1881. to his native land he decided to make his residence in
the city of New York. It was not his nature to lead an
inactive life, and in the course of a year or more he be-
came interested in several enterprises. He was elected
president of the Southern Mexican Railroad, that runs
from the Rio Grande to the city of Mexico; he visited
that country in order to study its people and its natural
resources; he was one of the incorporators of the Nicar-
agua Canal; and was appointed by President Arthur
one of the Commissioners to negotiate a treaty of reci-
procity with Mexico. He invested much of his means,
as a silent partner, in a firm of bankers and brokers in
the city of New York. Taking it for granted that its
business was honestly and properly managed, and being
engrossed in other duties, he took no practical notice of
its affairs. The business was, however, conducted in a
series of swindling operations; his own name having
been traded upon in a most unauthorized manner. The
bubble suddenly burst, and the ex-President was
astounded to find himself bankrupt; although that was
as nothing, compared with his mortification when he
learned of the dishonorable and dishonest means by which
it had been brought about.

He was now under the necessity of borrowing money
to defray his current expenses. This fact induced him
to begin writing his "Personal Memoirs," for the benefit
of his family. The work had progressed about two-
thirds when, as he says, "I had reason to suppose I was
in a critical condition of health." A few months pre-
vious a slight ulceration appeared at the root of the
tongue, which in the end developed into a form of can-
cer. He continued to work on his book, except when
prostrated by weakness induced by pain. Never did he
display more fortitude than when in an uncomplaining

spirit he bore for nine months the almost continuous agony caused by this terrible disease. Thus in the line of duty, and in the sweet assurance of the Christian's hope, he calmly awaited orders, which came July 23, 1885, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. CHAP.
LXXI.
1885.

He died at Mount MacGregor, a summer resort a few miles north of Saratoga, whither he had been removed in the hope of mitigating his sufferings. Simple and appropriate funeral services were held first at Mount MacGregor, and at their close the casket, under a guard of honor, was placed on a special train and taken to New York.

An imposing procession escorted the remains to the City Hall, where the usual lying in state continued for two days and one night. The remains were taken to Riverside Park on the banks of the Hudson in the upper portion of the city, about eight miles from the City Hall. The day of the funeral was charming, being comparatively cool—fleeting clouds warding off the hot rays of the sun—the air pure and bracing, while recent rains had made the earth rejoice, and the slopes of Riverside seemed dressed in living green.

The funeral pageant was conducted both on water and on land, and in its proportions exceeded any one that had hitherto occurred in the Union. Men-of-war and other United States vessels took position in the Hudson opposite Riverside the evening before; and at sunrise commenced firing minute guns. Numerous private yachts and steamers crowded with spectators were also present and remained till the ceremonies at the tomb were closed. Present with the family at the last services were the President and the Vice-President of the United States, ex-Presidents Hayes and Arthur, a number of United States Senators, the Generals of the Army, Sherman and Sheridan, and Generals Johnston and Buckner of the late Confederate Army; representative clergymen

CHAP. of different denominations and other men of distinction.

LXXI. The Governors of sixteen States, some with their staffs,
1885. were present. Nearly fifty associations of the city itself and of various kinds took part in the procession, besides delegates from similar associations belonging to other cities and States. A profusion of emblems of mourning marked the route of the procession, but by no means were they thus limited, for they were to be seen in every street—some very elaborate and some very humble.

The casket was deposited in a temporary tomb near where the monument is to rise, under which will be its final resting-place.

The last ceremonies being performed, the mortal remains of Ulysses Simpson Grant were left in charge of a guard of United States soldiers.

At the same hour in which funeral services were being held at Mount MacGregor, by arrangement, similar ones were in progress in Westminster Abbey, London. That vast edifice was crowded by an assemblage of distinguished persons. The flags upon all the royal residences and yachts were lowered during the service. Canon Farrar delivered a funeral discourse after the usual burial service of the Church of England was read. He said in part:

“To-day we assemble at the obsequies of the great soldier, whose sun set while it was yet day. I desire to speak simply and directly, with generous appreciation but without flattery, of him whose death has made a nation mourn. . . . Such careers are the glory of the American people; they show that they have a sovereign insight into intrinsic force; that men should be honored simply as men, not according to the accident of birth. Every man derives a patent of nobleness direct from God. . . . The hour came and the man was needed: Grant's success was not luck, but the result of inflexible faithfulness, indomitable resolution, sleepless energy,

persistent tenacity. He rose by the upper gravitation of fitness. . . . If our two peoples which are one be true to their duty, who can doubt that the destinies of the world are in their hands?" This service was entirely English, both in its inception and in its celebration.

On the day of the funeral, memorial services were held in Paris by the American residents of that city; a number of prominent Frenchmen were present; and also at the same time funeral obsequies were held in the City of Mexico, while throughout the Union similar services were in progress in the cities and villages.

General George B. McClellan died at Orange, New Jersey, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. His illness was brief, being an affection of the heart. He was a native of Philadelphia, the son of an eminent surgeon, Dr. George McClellan, of that city. He graduated from West Point Academy, and was at once ordered to active service in Mexico as second Lieutenant of Engineers. During the Crimean War he was sent by the United States Government to its scene of action in order to make observations on the military movements and plans of defence and attack, on which he presented to Congress an elaborate report. He soon afterward resigned his position in the army to engage in civil engineering, being employed in superintending the construction of railways. At the commencement of the Rebellion he offered his services to the United States and was accepted and put in command in Western Virginia. His distinguished military services have been treated in their place. After his second retirement from the army, he again engaged in civil affairs, meanwhile becoming a resident of New Jersey, of which State he was elected Governor. He was a man of very high culture and of the purest life, and endeared to all who knew him intimately. His funeral at his own request was simple and unostentatious, held in the Madison

CHAP.
LXXI.

1885.
Oct. 23.

1864.
Nov. 8.

CHAP. Square Presbyterian Church in New York City. Of
LXXI. that denomination he was a member and a ruling elder.
1885. in which capacity he was often appointed to represent his church in ecclesiastical courts. The assemblage at the funeral was unusually large, and comprised numbers of prominent gentlemen in the army and navy and in the civil walks of life. No eulogy was pronounced nor address made on the occasion. The offers of the military and of those who had served under him to escort the remains or act as a guard of honor, were courteously declined by the family. His last resting-place is in the family plot in Trenton, New Jersey.

When Mr. Cleveland's administration entered upon its duties, the new Congress almost immediately began the labor of auditing thoroughly the books containing the financial accounts of the previous administrations for the past twenty-four years. After months of such investigation there was found a discrepancy of only a few cents. The vouchers for the collections and disbursements of these moneys were on file in the respective departments. During this twenty-four years—from March 4, 1861, to March 4, 1885—it is estimated that far more money was collected and paid out than had been in the entire period of eighteen administrations, or seventy-two years, from the first inauguration of George Washington, though that period had paid off the debt incurred by the Revolution, and had borne the expenses of two wars—that of 1812 and that with Mexico—and had purchased an immense amount of territory.

The same general policy in relation to the financial measures of the nation—such as the rates of import duties and of internal revenue—that had obtained in the previous six administrations was virtually continued during that of Mr. Cleveland. Within these four years no laws of a national character were enacted that directly influenced the material interests of the people, chiefly

because the Senate was controlled by a Republican, and the House of Representatives by a Democratic majority, ^{CHAP. LXXI.} and the latter was by no means harmonious or of one mind on many essential matters. The discussions, however, in the Houses of Congress and among the people on financial subjects—the tariff, internal revenue, and the disposal of the surplus—because of the uncertainty in regard to the final action of Congress, did interfere to a limited extent with the mining, manufacturing, mercantile and agricultural industries of the people, as well with the inter-State trade as with the foreign. Mr. Cleveland's administration was, therefore, quite uneventful, as it was much more executive than legislative in its character. He was noted, as in former executive offices, by an exact and untiring industry, scrupulously examining everything, and thus was enabled to veto a very large number of improper private pension bills, mostly of cases rejected by previous administrations in the Pension Bureau, but engineered through Congress. The work of Congress was for the most part confined to the usual routine of making the necessary appropriations for carrying on the Government. Laws previously enacted ¹⁸⁸⁴ made provision for restoring to the public domain lands that had been granted to railways on certain conditions which involved forfeiture to the Government if the conditions were not complied with, and the President duly enforced these laws.

During this administration, however, an unusual amount of earnest discussion was had in the four sessions of the Forty-ninth and the Fiftieth Congresses, as well as in the public journals, in political meetings, and especially among the people, who read more than usual, on all the topics pertaining to the finances and the general material interests of the nation. Although during the four sessions, as mentioned above, no tariff nor tax bill passed Congress, the arguments used for and against the bills

CHAP. proposed will undoubtedly have an influence on future
LXXI. legislation on these subjects.

1885.
Dec. 7.

The Forty-ninth Congress in its first session entered upon a revision of the tariff, taking as its basis the tariff of 1883, the outgrowth of the Commission of 1882. The Morrison Tariff—thus designated from the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who introduced it—for the most part applied the “horizontal” principle to that of 1883—that is, it diminished the latter’s rates by *twenty per cent.* The House of Representatives, after discussing this measure at intervals for nearly the whole of the first session, finally failed to pass it. During the second session, owing to diversities of opinion on the subject among the members of the majority, no attempt was made to introduce another bill, and the whole matter was permitted to pass over to the Fiftieth Congress, whose members were about to be elected. In this election the people indicated that to some extent they had again changed their views on the prominent question of the tariff, or else were dissatisfied with their undecided Congressmen, as they chose a House of Representatives in which the Democratic majority of the former House was reduced from forty-two to thirteen.

Although during this administration the attempts to revise the tariff proved abortive, we may, for the sake of the connection and of the reader’s convenience, note what was done by the Congress elected in the middle of Cleveland’s term. In the first session of the Fiftieth Congress—which lasted from December 5, 1887, to October 20, 1888—the Committee of Ways and Means, through their Chairman, Mr. R. Q. Mills, introduced the bill known by his name. This bill, ignoring the horizontal mode as well as the revision plan, framed a tariff on a practically new schedule of rates. The distinctive features of the bill had been foreshadowed by President Cleveland in his annual message on the assembling of

this Congress. Therein the theory of what is character-
 ized as the protective system was challenged to a contest
 before the people with the opposing policy of a tariff for
 revenue only. With characteristic boldness, Mr. Cleve-
 land spared neither political friend nor foe, but called
 Congress to account for tariff inaction. He said: "The
 amount of money annually exacted through the operation
 of the present laws from the industries and necessities
 of the people largely exceeds the sum necessary to meet
 the expenses of the Government. . . . The public
 treasury . . . becomes a hoarding place for money
 needlessly withdrawn from trade and the people's use
 . . . threatening financial disturbance and inviting
 schemes of public plunder. . . . If disaster results
 from the continued inaction of Congress, the responsi-
 bility must rest where it belongs."

Thus spurred up, the Democratic majority responded
 by the introduction of the "Mills bill," and a line was
 definitely drawn between the two financial and industrial
 policies; as such, the various questions involved
 were afterward the most prominent themes for debate
 in the presidential canvass of the following year and in
 the election of the members of the Fifty-first Congress.

The Mills bill, after a discussion unprecedentedly
 lengthened, finally passed the Democratic House by a
 slender majority and was sent to the Republican Senate.
 The latter body, for the most part, deemed its main pro-
 visions so radical and its changes so sweeping that, in-
 stead of attempting to amend it, they framed a bill of
 their own as a substitute, and passing that, sent it to the
 House; which in its turn declined to take up at all the
 discussion of so utterly different a bill, but adjourned,
 leaving the matter to be acted upon in the second session.

Meantime the Presidential canvass was in progress, and
 the issue was before the people themselves, the
 Democratic party standing upon the Mills House bill and

CHAP.
 LXXI.

1888.
 Oct. 20.

CHAP. the Republicans upon the Senate bill, as exponents
LXXI. of the party positions on the Tariff question. Mr. Cleveland's message had at last crystallized the Democratic policy to one of a "Revenue Tariff," and Mr. Blaine (Dec. 1887), then in Paris, had caught it up and by some public letters had aroused the Republican enthusiasm to a fight for the "Protective Tariff;" and so the lines of battle had been accepted by both parties, out of Congress as well as within it.

1888. When the Fiftieth Congress met in its second session
Dec. 3. the Senate renewed the discussion of the substitute bill, and having passed it a second time sent it to the Lower House; but before the latter acted upon it Congress itself came to its legal end on March 3, 1889. The tariff had now remained unrevised for six years—that is, since July 1, 1883.

Various labor associations had appealed to Congress for relief, since some manufacturers and contractors had by means of agents imported from Europe unskilled laborers, whom they employed at much lower wages than the American workmen could afford to accept, if they and their families were to live in their usual comfort and to educate their children. Congress in consequence enacted a law forbidding any person or corporation to import ordinary laborers under contract to perform labor or service. The law, however, provided for employing "skilled workmen in foreign countries to perform such labor in the United States, in or upon any new industry not at present therein established," and also for engaging, "professional actors, artists, lecturers or singers, or persons employed strictly as personal or domestic servants." This law was afterward amended so as to prohibit objectionable persons landing, and in addition provided that they be sent back to the port from which they came.

Provision was also made by law for adjusting, by

means of arbitration, differences as to wages between employers and employes. President Cleveland, in his Message of April, 1886, recommended that the existing Labor Bureau should be enlarged to a Board of Commissioners, with power of arbitration. This was done, the Commission being empowered to select arbitrators to whom "the matters of difference are to be submitted in writing by all the parties," and to the latter is given "full opportunity to be heard on oath;" the decision of the arbitrators to be signed with their respective names and sent to the Commissioner of Labor, who shall make such decision public; the entire expense to be borne by the National government.

The unusual number, in recent years, of the deaths of Presidents and Vice-Presidents when in office, arrested the attention of the thoughtful. This was notable in the case of President Garfield, and had been emphasized by the death of Vice-President Hendricks on November 25, 1885. President Cleveland called attention to it in his first Message, December, 1885, and Congress prudently thereon passed a law regulating the succession in such contingencies. The following statute was enacted: "In case of removal, death, resignation or disability of both the President and Vice-President, a member of the Cabinet shall, in the following order, act as President until the disability is removed or a President elected: The Secretary of State; that of the Treasury; that of War; the Attorney-General, Postmaster-General, and Secretary of the Navy." It is also provided: "That whenever the power and duties of the office of President of the United States shall devolve upon any of the persons named herein, if Congress be not in session . . . such person shall issue a proclamation convening Congress in extraordinary session, giving twenty days' notice of the time of meeting."

It seems a singular oversight, but as yet there has been

CHAP. made no provision by Congress for the contingency of
LXXI. the death or disability of a President-elect before the
1887. time specified for him to assume office.
Feb. 3.

For the purpose of defining more clearly the authenticity of the votes for President and Vice-President, and the mode of their counting in the joint Convention of the Senate and of the House of Representatives, Congress enacted an Electoral law, an important item of which is that the determination of the State authorities as to who are the electors of the State "shall be conclusive, and shall govern in the counting of the electoral votes, as provided in the Constitution, so far as the ascertainment of the electors appointed by such State is concerned." It is worthy of notice that the principle embodied in this law was the rule adopted and acted upon by the special "Electoral Commission"¹ which, in 1877, was specially constituted to determine the legality of the electoral votes given the respective presidential candidates, Rutherford B. Hayes and Samuel J. Tilden. That Commission decided that the "votes to be counted are those presented by the States, and when ascertained and presented by the proper authorities of the States they must be counted." Thus, in counting the electoral votes in the joint Convention of the two Houses of Congress, it is forbidden to go behind the authenticated returns from the States.

In a country like ours, possessing a territory so extensive as to have an unusual variety of climate, and having, also, a population that is industrious and progressive, of necessity the traffic between the different sections must become great and quite complicated. The latter phase would be the outgrowth of rival and parallel lines of railroads, extending from the vast grain fields and pasture lands of the valley of the Mississippi to the cities and seaports on the Atlantic slope. These rival railways

¹ Hist. p. 1070.

in their competition with one another, were induced to "cut rates" both on freight and passengers to such an extent as to cause a deficiency in their respective incomes. In order, therefore, to make up these losses, they charged much higher rates on the portions of their several routes where this rivalry did not exist. In consequence, the people who lived in the vicinity of the latter became the victims of these unequal rates of charge, and they appealed for relief to the National government. To remedy the evil, Congress passed what is termed the "Inter-State Commerce Act."

CHAP.
LXXI.
1887.
Feb. 4.

In order to carry into effect the provisions of this law, five Commissioners are appointed by the President. This Commission is authorized "to inquire into the management of the business of all common carriers, subject to the provisions of this Act."

It is provided: "That all charges made for any service rendered or to be rendered in the transportation of passengers or of property from one State or Territory to another shall be reasonable and just; and every unjust and unreasonable charge for such service is prohibited and declared to be unlawful." On these general principles the Commission is empowered to act, and it is hoped in the end to be of great benefit to the people at large, though it is thought in some cases not to be equally fair and just toward the common carriers.

When the time came to nominate candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency four Conventions were held: That of the Union Labor Party met in Cincinnati, and nominated Alson J. Streeter of Illinois for the Presidency and Charles E. Cunningham of Arkansas for the Vice-Presidency; the Convention of the Prohibitionists met at Indianapolis, and nominated Clinton B. Fiske of New Jersey for the first office and John A. Brooks of Missouri for the second; the Democratic Convention met at St. Louis, and renominated President

1888.
May 16.

May 31.

June 7.

CHAP. Cleveland, and for the second office Allen J. Thurman
 LXXI. of Ohio; that of the Republicans met at Chicago, and
 1888. nominated for the first office Benjamin Harrison of In-
 June 21. diana and for the second Levi Parsons Morton of New
 York.

As to the principles on which the canvass was to be conducted by the two main political parties, the President had given the key, as has been mentioned,¹ in his Annual Message the previous December, and the Democratic platform was framed to coincide with the theories of that document. After endorsing the platform of 1884 in its position on the tariff and its opposition to what were termed "sumptuary laws," the Convention said: "We endorse the views of President Cleveland in his last Annual Message upon the question of tariff reduction; we also endorse the efforts of our Democratic Representatives in Congress to secure a reduction of excessive taxation," the latter statement being in allusion to the Mills Tariff Bill, then before the Lower House. The Republican platform said: "We are uncompromisingly in favor of the American system of protection; we protest against its destruction, as proposed by the President and his party. They serve the interests of Europe: we will support the interests of America."

Other than the tariff position, both platforms contained chiefly the usual "pointing with pride" to their own, and "viewing with alarm" the other party's doings or
 Nov. 6. omissions. The Republican nominees, Harrison and Morton, were elected.

In the second session of the Fiftieth Congress was
 1889. established a "Department of Agriculture," the Secretary
 Feb. 11. of which is a member of the Cabinet.

Under the usual conditions, four new States were ad-
 Feb. 27. mitted to the Union: South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana and Washington.

¹ Hist. p. 1101.

CHAPTER LXXII.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Sketch of Life.—Inauguration Ceremonies.—Inaugural Address.—The Cabinet.—The last National Centennial Celebration.—Ceremonies at Washington's Inauguration.—The Imitations.—The Coming from Elizabethport.—The School Girls.—Religious Services.—Meeting at the Statue in Wall street.—Military Parade.—The Civic Parade.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, the great-great-grandfather of ^{CHAP.} the present President, was a native of the Colony of LXXII. Virginia. We infer he was held in high respect by his fellow-colonists, inasmuch as he was at times a member, and also Speaker, of the House of Burgesses. In 1765 he took decided ground in opposition to the famous Stamp Act. He was a member of the greatly influential Continental Congresses of 1774, 1775 and 1776. As a member of the latter he signed the Declaration of Independence. The second son of Benjamin Harrison,—William Henry,—was elected President of the United States¹ by an unprecedented majority. He was the ^{1840.} grandfather of the Benjamin Harrison who at this writing is President.

Benjamin Harrison was born in the homestead of his ^{1833.} grandfather at North Bend, Ohio. He grew up a ^{Aug. 20.} farmer's son, and did his share of work when not at school. After being prepared at an academy in the vicinity he entered Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, where he was graduated in 1852, in his nineteenth year.

¹ Hist. p. 734.

CHAP. His position was high in the studies required in the col-
LXXII. lege and also among his fellow-students, he being especially noted for his off-hand speeches, which, owing to their clearness of expression and appropriateness of thought, appeared to have been written out in his study instead of being impromptu. On graduation he began
1854. the study of law, and in 1854 we find him beginning its practice in the City of Indianapolis. In 1860 he was elected Reporter of the State Supreme Court.

Troublous times for the Union were foreshadowed. Fort Sumter had been fired upon, and that act fired the
1861. hearts of the loyal men of the nation. Into the preceding
Ap'l 12. exciting Presidential canvass Harrison entered heartily, and was in deep sympathy with the political principles of the party that elected Abraham Lincoln.

When President Lincoln issued a proclamation for troops in 1862, Harrison offered his services to Governor Oliver P. Morton, was accepted, and authorized to raise a regiment. He acted promptly. On his way back to his office he purchased a military cap, secured a fifer and drummer, and at once threw out a flag from his office window and began recruiting men for the Union army. One company was soon obtained, put into camp and set at learning to drill, Harrison having, at his own expense, employed a drill-master from Chicago. The regiment—the Seventieth Indiana Volunteers—was completed in a comparatively short time, and the Governor appointed Harrison Colonel. Distrusting his own knowledge of military tactics, Harrison declined the office, but was finally persuaded to accept it. He entered the service as soon as possible with his regiment, being assigned to duty under General Buell, in Kentucky. He commanded his regiment with marked success in a number of battles. Afterward, for his bravery and discretion, he was recommended by General Joseph Hooker, under whose eye he had come, for brevet in the grade of Brigadier-

General, as an "officer of superior abilities, and of great CHAP. LXXII. professional and personal worth." He received the brevet January 23, 1865.

When at Atlanta with Sherman, Harrison was ordered by the War Department to report at Indianapolis for special duty. That duty was to obtain recruits for the army. Aided by his popularity he was so successful in enlisting men that the work was finished by the 9th of November, and he was free to set out to join his command in the march to the sea, but being unavoidably delayed, he arrived too late, as General Sherman was already far on his march. He found, however, an order to report at Chattanooga. There he was put at the head of a brigade, and transferred to the command of General George H. Thomas, at Nashville, Tenn. 1864. Sept. 12. Dec. 3.

An incident that occurred here reveals in one respect the character of the man. The weather became unusually cold, the earth being covered with snow and ice; his brigade was at the front and the sentries placed, one of whom, R. M. Smock of Indianapolis, relates: "I saw a man approaching from the direction of the officers' quarters; I halted him, and when he gave the countersign and advanced, I saw it was Colonel Harrison. He had a large can of hot coffee, with which he regaled the sentries in front of his brigade, lest, as he said, 'they should freeze to death.'"

After the battle of Nashville, Harrison was ordered to report to General Sherman at Savannah, Georgia; but having been detained, he was able to join him at Goldsboro, North Carolina. He remained in the service to the end of the war.

After the close of the war, General Harrison returned to the active duties of his profession, having been in 1864 re-elected Supreme Court Reporter. He was not, however, permitted by his political friends to be inactive when questions of a national character were to be dis-

CHAP. cussed, and in such debates he took part, especially in
LXXII. several Presidential campaigns.

In 1876, General Harrison was Republican candidate for Governor of Indiana, and ran ahead of his ticket, although defeated by a small plurality. He was urged in 1880 to permit his name to come before the people as a candidate for the Presidency, but refused. He also declined an invitation to become a member of the cabinet of President Garfield. He had, meanwhile, in 1881, been elected almost unanimously to the Senate of the United States. At the end of his six years' senatorship he retired once more to the practice of his profession, and while thus in private life was nominated for the Presidency by the Republican National Convention assembled at Chicago. More directly than in 1884, the canvass turned on "tariff reduction," as called for by the Democrats, and "protection to American industries," as the Republican motto. As stated above, Mr. Harrison was elected.

The ceremonies pertaining to the inauguration of President Harrison were the most imposing in our history. It is estimated that about 100,000 persons attended from all sections of the Union. The inaugural address, in its views of national affairs, was broad and comprehensive, and expressed in terms clear and terse. In respect to the principal feature of the discussion in the recent canvass, he recognized among the people a "patriotic interest in the preservation and development of domestic industries and defense of our working people against injurious foreign competition." In allusion to the first tariff bill of the Nation enacted by Congress and signed by George Washington,¹ he said: "It is not a departure, but a return, that we have witnessed. . . . If the question [of the tariff] became in any way sectional, it was only because slavery existed in some of the States."

¹ Hist., pp. 575, 576.

Again: "Surely I do not misinterpret the spirit of the occasion when I assume that the whole body of the people CHAP.
LXXII. covenant with me and with one another to-day, to support and defend the Constitution and the Union of the States, to yield willing obedience to all the laws, and each to every other citizen, his equal civil and political rights."

President Harrison sent to the Senate for their confirmation the names of the following gentlemen as members of his cabinet—they were all confirmed within half an hour: James G. Blaine, of Maine, to be Secretary of State; William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; Redfield Proctor, of Vermont, Secretary of War; William H. H. Miller, of Indiana, Attorney-General; John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General; Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York, Secretary of the Navy; John W. Noble, of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; and Jeremiah M. Rusk, of Wisconsin, Secretary of Agriculture.

The last of our national centennial celebrations—that of the first Inauguration of George Washington—took place in 1889. The Continental Congress, during the session of 1788, after it was known that a sufficient number of the States had voted to ratify the Constitution, enacted that Presidential electors should be chosen on the first Wednesday of January, 1889, that they should cast their votes for President and Vice-President on the first Wednesday of February, and that the two houses of Congress should meet in New York City, on the first Wednesday of March,—which that year came on the *fourth*.

On March *third*, at sunset, the citizens of New York fired thirteen guns in honor of the Continental Congress, representing the Thirteen Colonies that became independent States on the 4th of July, 1776. That Congress was to expire on the morrow at noon, and the Congress

CHAP. of the new nation¹ was to meet at the same hour. The
 LXXII. morning of the fourth was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. At the hour of noon on that day, only eleven guns were fired; they were in honor of those States that had voted to ratify the Constitution—North Carolina and Rhode Island being the delinquents.

Numerous delays, caused principally by the badness of the roads, the distance and the slow means of traveling, chiefly on horseback, prevented a quorum of either house being present on the fourth of March. The Senate, however, obtained one by April first, the House having been ready for business a day or two previous.

1789. On Monday, the fifth of April, the joint Convention of
 April 5. the House and Senate proceeded to count the electoral votes for President and Vice-President. It was found that George Washington, of Virginia, was unanimously chosen President, having sixty-nine votes, and that John Adams, of Massachusetts, having thirty-four votes, was chosen Vice-President. Messengers were sent immediately and with all speed to inform these gentlemen of their election—Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, to Mount Vernon, and Sylvanus Bourne to Braintree, Massachusetts. The Vice-President was the first to arrive in New York, having been escorted the entire way by volunteer complimentary guards of honor. He at once took the oath and entered upon his duty as the presiding officer of the Senate, which was already in session. Some days later, Washington also arrived, having come the whole way from Virginia on horseback.

April The Inauguration took place April *thirtieth*. It became
 30. the custom thereafter, but without legal authority, to commence Presidential terms at noon on the *fourth day*, instead of on the *first Wednesday*, of March.

The Centennial of the Inauguration of George

¹ Hist., p. 573.

Washington, as the first President of the United States, CHAP. LXXII. was celebrated by the people throughout the Union; though, as was fitting, the main ceremonies, which lasted three days, were carried out in the City of New York, where that Inauguration took place. It was properly decided to imitate, as far as circumstances would permit, the manner in which the original one was conducted.¹

Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York had been a spontaneous and continuous ovation on the part of the people dwelling along the route, especially in the City of Philadelphia, and in the villages through which he passed. Only two of these demonstrations could be imitated with much appearance of success.

The first attempt was in bringing President Harrison and his escort, such as committees and a few invited guests, from Elizabethport, on the New Jersey shore of Staten Island Sound, twelve miles southwest of New York City. The great New York Bay, upper and lower, was swarming with ships of every description, in number estimated to be between six and seven hundred. The police steamer, the *Patrol*, with a sufficient force on board to preserve order, kept a wide open space through the midst of these ships, and in almost a straight line from Elizabethport to the foot of Wall street, East River, where Washington had landed. Among these ships were eleven National war vessels, with their crowd of sailors and marines; revenue cutters and merchantmen; private yachts, excursion steamers, iron steamboats, river and sound steamers; immense ferry-boats and comparatively small but saucy tugs, flitting here and there, but all under perfect control and in order. The Nation's flag—now for the first time radiant with forty-two stars—was predominant among the gay emblems of corporations and private yachting clubs—the whole appearing like a collection of innumerable miniature rainbows. At the

1889
April
29.

¹ Hist., pp. 572, 573.

CHAP. time appointed, the *Dispatch*, a United States vessel,
 LXXII. having on board the Presidential party, started from Elizabethport along the open space. When approaching from the west she was greeted by guns from the war-vessels, and huzzas from the marines and sailors, the latter at a signal instantly manning the yards, while cheers of welcome rang out from the multitudes aboard the numerous other boats and ships.

When the *Dispatch* arrived opposite Wall street, in imitation of the "Thirteen Pilots," a crew of thirteen sea-captains belonging to the Marine Society rowed the barge which carried the President to the pier, where he was welcomed by the Committee, whose Chairman, the venerable ex-Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, made a brief but appropriate address. The procession moved up Wall street to the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception and luncheon were had. Meanwhile an interesting group of school-girls was waiting at the City Hall to receive the President, in memory of the greeting given to Washington by young girls of Trenton, N. J., when on his way to New York in 1789. The girls were tastefully dressed in white, and were selected from the Grammar departments of the public schools, while *thirteen* were taken from the senior class of the Normal College. The girls, the flowers, the addresses, the spectators, made a pretty and memorable effect.

The exercises of the first day were closed by the Inaugural Centennial Ball at the Metropolitan Opera House, in which a number of the descendants of those who took part in the one of 1789 participated.

The second day of the ceremonies was ushered in by religious exercises. At the call of the President's proclamation, services of thanksgivings for the past and prayers for the blessings of God upon the future of the Nation now entering on its second century, were held in the churches throughout the Union at 9 A. M. The

1889.
 April
 30.

center of attraction in New York was at St. Paul's Church, to which¹ Washington after his inauguration, accompanied by the members of Congress, had gone to return thanks to God and implore His blessing upon the Government just instituted. Bishop Provost, Chaplain of the Senate, had officiated. In the same church President Harrison and the members of his Cabinet who could attend, were present; the services were conducted in the usual form, Bishop Henry C. Potter making an address. President Harrison occupied the pew in which Washington was accustomed to sit—which has always been preserved in its original form. Ex-Presidents Hayes and Cleveland were present, besides numerous other prominent men.

The assembly adjourned at the close of the services to meet at the historic place in Wall street, where stands a bronze statue of Washington on the spot where the original inauguration took place. After prayer, addresses were made, the chief orator being Chauncey M. Depew.

At the close of these services President Harrison proceeded to Madison Square, where he was to review the military procession reaching from Wall street to Fifty-sixth street—about four miles. For the accommodation of spectators—of which, all told, there were perhaps a million, as every available point for seeing was occupied—temporary platforms or seats were prepared in many places on the streets along the route, in front of public buildings and parks. The private residences on the line of march were elaborately decorated. This parade of citizen-soldiers was the greatest thus far in our history. They came from twenty-three States, extending from Maine to Louisiana, and all along the Atlantic slope; there were present also twenty-nine Governors of States, who were mostly accompanied by their staffs. The whole number of troops exceeded fifty thousand. The exer-

¹ Hist., p. 573.

CHAP. cises of the second day closed with an Inauguration Cen-
LXXII. tennial Banquet.

1889.
May 1.

The enthusiasm of the people continued unabated, and they entered into the processions of the third day with a zest equal to that of the two previous. The last day in truth, represented causes that came home to them individually, more than the displays of the other two, as it was an exhibition in favor of the educational and industrial interests of the Nation; showing the great advancement made during the first century of the Nation's life, in the paths of useful labor, of domestic peace and material progress in a Christianized civilization. The detail is too extensive for us to enter upon in this connection. The participants in the parade were drawn from the city and its immediate vicinity, including students of Columbia College, of the New York City College and of the University of New York; followed by boys, pupils in the public schools, 4,000 strong; and they, by the various trade and industrial representations. Applications had been received by the Committee, from civic, commercial and industrial societies—foreign-born and native alike, all of which designated the number belonging to each who wished to participate in the processions, the whole number amounting to 110,000; but the Committee was compelled to limit the number pro rata, so that only 75,000 could be in line.

This celebration closed the first hundred years of the Nation's life and history, and, under wonderfully changed circumstances, it has entered upon its second century.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

1789 AND 1889—THE CONTRAST.

The Territory of the Union in 1789 and in 1889.—Its Comparison with Europe.—The Diversified Climate.—The Essential Productions.—Crude Manufactures and Trade.—The Two National Debts.—The Means of Paying.—Condition of the Churches in 1789 and in 1889.—Zeal and Benevolent Institutions.—Theological Discussions.—The Effects Produced.—The Anti-Slavery Agitation.—Commerce, Agriculture, Invention.—Immigration.—Education.—Suffrage.—Literature.—Language.

In closing the history of the first hundred years of ^{CHAP.} the Nation's life, it will interest the intelligent reader to LXXIII. compare the salient points of difference in the conditions under which it began its first century, and those under which it enters upon its second.

The territory of the United States consisted in 1789 of a comparatively narrow strip lying along the Atlantic slope, extending from the eastern boundary of Maine to the northern line of Florida. Sometime before and during the French and Indian war, large numbers of adventurous spirits threaded their way westward over the Alleghany Mountains into the regions beyond. At the termination of that war a second migration, consisting of many thousands, began crossing over by the famous Braddock¹ road into Western Pennsylvania, and there founded settlements in the fertile valley of the Monongahela. At the same time similar migrations were on

1749
to
1763.

¹ Hist., pp. 280, 585.

CHAP. their way from the same State, along the more northern
LXXIII. road cut by General Forbes, to the vicinity of the site
1773. of the present City of Pittsburg. Afterward, equally
adventurous and bold-hearted emigrants passed over from
Virginia and North Carolina, through the south middle
portion of the same mountains, and under great difficul-
ties established homes for their families within the "dark
and bloody ground" now known as Kentucky.¹ These
were the only settlements of that day outlying the At-
lantic slope.

The opening of the second century in this respect is
in marked contrast. It finds the Nation occupying a
vast territory, extending east and west from the Atlantic
Ocean to the Pacific; and north and south from the Florida
Keys, the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the line
of the Rio Grande, and thence to and along the Pacific
Ocean, to the 49th parallel of latitude on the northwest,
and a line drawn through the middle of the Great Lakes,
and on the northeast to the 47th parallel. A further com-
parison may aid the American people to appreciate more
fully their goodly heritage. The domain of the United
States, excluding Alaska, is estimated to lack only a few
hundred thousand square miles of being as large as all
Europe. The territory of Europe extends from the
Straits of Gibraltar to four degrees beyond the Arctic
Circle; along this circle, on both sides, is a vast barren
waste, because of the rigidly cold climate. On the other
hand, the territory of the United States lies wholly within
the choicest portion of the North Temperate Zone, as it
extends from the 49th parallel down to within half a
degree of the Tropic of Cancer; nor is there an acre of
soil within its boundaries, except on the high mountains,
that is unavailable because of the climate for pasturage
or cultivation.

The contrast with Europe is, perhaps, still more re-

¹ Hist., p. 507.

markable in regard to climate and rainfall, as the United States appear to derive more benefit from the Atlantic and Pacific *equatorial currents* than both Asia and Europe combined. The Atlantic current furnishes the Gulf Stream, which brings the blessings of moisture and warmth to Western Europe; but it also furnishes what is equally important—a copious rainfall to our great Mississippi Valley.¹ The Pacific equatorial current is the origin of the Japan current—three times the size of the Gulf Stream, and four degrees warmer—which causes the mild climate and moisture of our Pacific and Northwestern States, away up to Alaska.² The influence of this warm current, which expands all over the surface of the North Pacific, extends along the entire southern portion of Alaska, and to the south down the coast beyond San Francisco. The winds from off it are loaded with warmth and moisture, and penetrate inland about one thousand miles, passing over Oregon and Washington and through the gaps of the Cascade and the Rocky Mountain ranges, until they meet and mingle with the western flank of the vapor-loaded winds from the Atlantic equatorial current. The latter are deflected by the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, and flow north toward the pole to restore the equilibrium of the atmosphere.

The extent of territory occupied by the United States, and the consequent diversity of climate, render the American people virtually independent of the rest of the world for the necessities of life, such as clothing and substantial food of all kinds, the only exceptions being tea and coffee, chocolate, and a few spices from the tropics, that have in time become essential to the comfort of the people, and as delicacies for the table. We are also dependent, for the most part, on foreign lands for raw silk and india-rubber. Thus, the North and North-middle

¹ Natural Resources of the U. S.; J. H. Patton; pp. 351-360; 364.

² Nat. Resources, pp. 369-377.

CHAP. produce the cereals and orchard fruits, while the South-
 LXXIII middle furnishes tobacco and cotton, and the extreme
 southern portion sugar-cane, rice and sub-tropical fruits.
 It is interesting to know that the mineral wealth of the
 United States, in its diversified forms, much transcends in
 importance all that is in the world beside, thus far dis-
 covered.¹

- In 1789 the only means of transportation within the
 Union was by animal power, such as by pack-horses over
 the Alleghanies, or traveling on horseback or by coach,
 while freight was carried in wagons drawn by horses or
 oxen; by sailing vessels along the Atlantic coast, or in
 scows or flatboats on the rivers. The great National
 road, constructed by the general Government across the
 Alleghanies, from Cumberland, Maryland, to the Ohio
 1820. River, was finished to that point in 1820. Thirty-six
 years after the first inauguration of Washington, the
 Erie Canal, made by the State of New York, was opened.
 1825. It united at Albany the Great Lakes with the Hudson
 River, and through that with the Atlantic in New York
 harbor. In after years a number of other canals were
 constructed in different parts of the Union, nearly all of
 which have been superseded by railways.
1827. Two years after the uniting of the lakes with the
 Atlantic, was made the first railway in the Union; it was
 in Massachusetts, and was designed to transport granite
 from Quincy to the seashore. Five years later,² our first
 locomotive began running on the Hudson and Mohawk
 1832. Railroad. The building of such roads proceeded very
 rapidly, and in 1835 there were in the United States 1,098
 miles of railways; but in passing over fifty-four years,
 we find that in 1889 they had increased to 163,362. Of
 the rails used on these roads about seventy-five per cent
 are, at this writing, made of steel, which is fast super-
 seding those made of iron,—the introduction of an Ameri-

¹ Nat. Resources of the U. S.

² Hist., p. 700.

can-improved Bessemer process having rendered steel-making both easy and cheap. CHAP.
LXXIII.

Other items in this connection are worthy the attention of the reader. On the through lines of railways from the Atlantic slope across the Alleghanies, the average of the charge for freight in 1865 was 2.9 cents per ton per mile; in 1889 it was 0.609 cents. On the Western and Southwestern roads the average charge for the same in 1865 was 3.642 cents; in 1889 it was 0.934 cents. The combined average rate of the same on these two divisions of roads in 1865 was 3.271 cents, while the average rate of the same in 1889 was 0.771 cents. The average rate per mile for passengers on these roads in 1889 was 2.246 cents. There was in the United States in 1889 for every 19.34 square miles of surface one mile of railroad; and one mile of the same to every 418 of the inhabitants. The gross value of these railways in 1889 was \$20,957,668,032.¹ What will all these items be in 1989?

We of 1891, in our abundance of comforts and home facilities for supplying our wants, have only a very imperfect conception of the difficulties, financial and otherwise, that obtruded themselves upon our fathers, when they were entering upon the first century of our national existence. The people, as individuals, were poor indeed, and so was the new government itself. The separate States and the Continental Congress were both involved in debts contracted in the war for independence. These debts of the States, as a matter of national policy, were assumed by the general government, but that was a transference made for convenience only, since the debts thus consolidated still remained and had to be paid.

The people, in a comparatively crude way, had made for themselves some domestic articles of prime necessity; when colonists they had been for the most part depen-

¹ Poor's R.R. Manual.

CHAP. dent for these upon the motherland, while during the
LXXIII. eight years of actual war for independence, most of their able-bodied men being in the army, those at home manufactured articles that pertained to carrying on the war, rather than those for domestic use in times of peace. Their trade among themselves (and they had none outside worth mentioning) finally degenerated into mere barter, because during the six years immediately after the conclusion of peace, when their sea-ports were thrown open for commerce, and before the inauguration of Washington, England, under her system of "perfectly free-trade, swept from the country every dollar and every piece of gold."¹

In addition to this evil, rivalry between the States bordering on the ocean often led them to impose, each for itself, different rates of duties on the same class of merchandise, when brought into their respective ports, the object of each one being to secure the foreign trade as much as possible.

The whole people had also—in contrast with the present time—to enter upon a sort of apprenticeship, in order to learn how to make for themselves the best articles for domestic use. England had hitherto supplied these, and at her own prices. The contrast between the amount of manufacturing in that day and what it is at present is amazing.

The debt of the United States at the commencement of the first century² was, in proportion to each one of the population, larger, and in addition was far more burdensome for the people to pay than their debt on entering upon their second century, when their facilities for paying it are so much superior. The national debt in 1791 was \$75,463,476; the similar one on December 31, 1890, was \$873,435,939.50, less the cash in the U. S. Treasury. In 1791

¹ Bolles' Financial Hist. of the U. S., p. 437.

² Hist., p. 575.

the debt was about *nineteen* dollars per each man, woman CHAP. LXXIII. and child of the population. In 1890, estimating the number of inhabitants to be sixty-three millions, the national debt was, for each one of the population, about *fourteen* dollars.

Thus far the American people have merited the honor of being characterized as "the only debt-paying nation." We cannot go into details; let a mere glance at their varied resources accounting for this, suffice. Notice the vast mineral wealth of all kinds discovered during the first century, within the Union; the abundant facilities for internal and foreign trade; the agricultural and pastoral resources; the numberless inventions that promote mechanical industries: all these, in their respective capacities, produce wealth, and thus indirectly afford funds for paying the national debt.

There are, however, other considerations worthy of note in a nation's life than those of mere material progress. The contrast in the facilities for extending the truths of Christianity and their civilizing influence throughout the land, and for promoting education among the people of all classes, is fully as striking as any other feature of this comparison. We have seen that immediately after the adoption of the Constitution, the several denominations of Christians took measures to frame their systems of Church government in such manner as to be consistent with that of the Nation ¹ The remarkable moral and educational results produced during the first century, though in the face of numerous difficulties, have amply vindicated this. Within that hundred years, especially in the latter half, all these denominations have manifested unusual zeal in preaching the gospel in destitute portions of the Union, and in endeavoring to raise the whole people by means of education to a higher plane of general intelligence, thus preparing them to enter upon their

¹ Hist., pp. 567-570.

CHAP. second century almost infinitely better equipped than were
LXXIII. their fathers for a continual progress in all that is great and noble.

The leading minds in these denominations founded benevolent associations to aid in the cause, such as Bible, Tract, Sunday School, Home Missionary, and other societies.¹ Meanwhile the private members of the churches nobly furnished the necessary financial means; nor were they lacking in individual efforts in their respective spheres of influence. This spirit also influenced wealthy men to recognize their own responsibility, and in consequence, within the period mentioned, they have furnished millions on millions for purposes of education. The church members at the beginning of the first century, as well as the rest of the people, were poor in worldly affairs; at the beginning of the second, they are comparatively rich, and in addition they have, prepared to their hand, these various benevolent associations and societies, which the wisdom of the first century has devised, and which appliances can be now utilized to the best advantage.

There is still another contrast. The commencement of the first century saw but little harmony or sympathy between the various religious denominations, but, on the contrary, antagonisms, especially between the two that were in union with the State² and those others that were not, owing to the harsh treatment the latter had so long endured from the former. The remembrance of these wrongs passed over from colonial times, and it took at least one generation for that malign influence to thoroughly pass away, which, during the first third of the century, very much trammelled the legitimate works of the churches.

¹ Hist., pp. 636, 656.

² The Congregational in New England and the Episcopal in some of the Middle and the Southern Colonies. Hist., p. 567.

The above period was succeeded by another, lasting nearly forty years, characterized by an unusual mental activity in respect to theological opinions, which were discussed extensively throughout the Northern and Eastern States. These discussions took a wide range amid the respective doctrines of the churches, such as the scriptural authority for certain forms in rites and ceremonies, Church policy, the mode of ordaining the ministry, Biblical interpretation, and, in general, other leading doctrines of the various denominations. The religious newspapers and periodicals engaged in this work, and even a portion of the secular press, opened their columns to the disputants and treated the matter editorially.

These contests were mainly on points of belief that in themselves were non-essential, while at the same time there prevailed among these evangelical disputants a remarkable unanimity in accepting the essential truths of the gospel. The latter phase of the subject induced a sentiment of charity that continually grew in strength, until all parties tacitly acquiesced in each denomination in its own way preaching the word and administering the rites of the Church, and thus promoting the cause so dear to the hearts of all. In consequence of these mutual concessions, there came gradually into existence, toward the end of the second period mentioned, an era of good feeling among the churches, which prevails, more than ever before, in the entire Christian community. This was one of the most important legacies that the churches of the first century left to those of the second. There was, however, one controversy—the anti-slavery agitation—that continued unchanged among the churches in its earnestness to the very last, even until the war for the preservation of the Union incidentally blotted out its exciting career forever.

At present, however, we see the churches of the United States entering upon their second century, never in their

CHAP. history so free from discordant conflicts, nor so abundant
LXXIII. in wealth, in zeal and in the facilities for concentrated effort in their appropriate work, which in its greatness has never before been paralleled in the Union.

In closing this chapter, it is proper to notice the evidence of the deep underlying reverence that has always characterized the American people—especially those who are descendants of the original colonists—for the truths of Christianity. This may account for the fact that no special movement in opposition to the latter's essential and leading doctrines has ever originated in the United States.

In the early years of the Nation's century, there prevailed, to a very limited extent, a form of infidelity derived from the French revolutionists. Its views or arguments were presented, however, in a tone peculiarly low and vulgar, so that what influence it had among the people at large, dwindled away in less than a generation.

The modes of criticism tending to invalidate the authority of the Bible as the inspired Word of God, were introduced from Germany. In the same manner, the theories that would ignore God in His own grand law of evolution, or the gradual development or improvement in the order of nature, whether animal or vegetable, and likewise, the theory that "neither denies nor affirms God, but puts Him on one side," known as agnosticism, are both exotics—they having been transplanted hither from the British Isles. In the same connection, it may be said concerning the writing of books of a decided immoral tendency, that comparatively very few, as far as we know, are the direct product of American authors.

On the pages following have been grouped state-ments concerning the progress made by the American People during their first century in various elements of civilization. CHAP.
LXXXIII.

PROGRESS OF A CENTURY.

This Government, founded on the recognition of the civil and religious rights of man, may be regarded as an experiment in process of trial, but with the highest hopes of success. It is natural that under such a Government the people should make progress in literature, in science, and in those mechanical arts and inventions that promote the comfort and advancement of mankind. 1890

Let us take a rapid glance at the progress made by this youthful nation in the short life of one hundred years. Since the Declaration of Independence the number of inhabitants, then estimated at three millions, has increased more than sixteen-fold; and since the first census (1790) the number has increased from 3,929,214 to 62,480,540 — sixteen-fold. In the same period foreign commerce has increased in value from twenty to fifteen hundred million dollars, while the internal trade has reached twenty-five thousand millions. In connection with this has been a steady increase in the facilities of communication and transport, first by means of steamboats, which now abound upon our rivers and great lakes; by means of canals connecting the lakes and the great valley of the Mississippi with the Atlantic, and railroads extending to all parts of the land, and which have increased to an aggregate length of 163,362 miles, in operation or in process of construction, at an expense of nearly twenty-one thousand million dollars. 1790
to
1890.

1809.
1827.

1889.

A steady progress has been made in agriculture, in which a greater number are engaged than in any other employment, as farmers in the Northern and planters in the Southern States. As an agricultural product, Indian

CHAP. corn stands first in value, eight hundred and four million
 LXXIII. dollars; wheat, five hundred and seventy-four; hay, four
 1880. hundred and thirty, and cotton about two hundred and
 seventy millions, and so on through the list of crops;
 while the cattle numbered twenty-eight million, and the
 swine fifty-five. The products of the cotton and woollen
 manufacturers amounted respectively to one hundred and
 eighty-eight, and one hundred and sixty-four million dol-
 lars.

The inventive genius of the people has been active in securing the powers of nature in adding to the comforts of human life. In implements for cultivating the soil there have been innumerable improvements, from the simple hoe to the steam plough; and from the primitive sickle and scythe to the reaping and mowing machine. As striking have been the improvements in the steam engine; in ship-building, from the swift sailing clipper to the sharp-prowed ocean steamer—copied now by England's steam marine; and in printing-presses, by means of one—Hoe's—ninety thousand impressions can be taken in an hour. The sewing machine, that friend of woman, is a purely American invention, and so is that not less useful machine, the cotton gin. Fifteen thousand patents have been taken out in a single year at Washington.

1881. We have seen the character of the first settlers of this land; their intelligence, their zeal in founding institutions imbued with the spirit of civil and religious liberty. The time came to welcome another immigration. In 1819 Congress first directed the collectors of ports to take cog-
 1819. nizance of the foreigners who arrived in the country, and make returns of the same to the Secretary of State. That immigration, subject to great fluctuations, in one
 1854. year amounted to three hundred and seventy-two thousand. Of these the majority had no higher skill than to engage in the simplest forms of manual labor. They aided immensely in the development of the country; for

none but the energetic emigrate to better their condition, and they bring with them that element of character so valuable. Without their toil our canals would never have been dug, nor our railroads built, nor the improvements in our towns and cities. They have received the recompense of their daily labor, yet, as a Nation, we acknowledge to them our obligations.

CHAP.
LXXIII.
1881.

Since then, especially during the three last decades, the character of immigrants from beyond the Atlantic has materially changed. As the manufacturing industries of the country developed its resources the inducement for skilled labor was greatly increased, and a much greater proportion of skilful mechanics have come among us to become valued citizens, and train their children in our common schools to be Americans. The public lands, as offered by the Homestead Bill, have brought an immense number who have settled upon them as industrious, economical and thrifty farmers, especially in the West and Northwest. Intelligent merchants from abroad have aided in extending our commerce, and also an increasing number of educated men have found here a home and a field of usefulness, both as lawyers and physicians, and as ministers of the Gospel and professors in our colleges, and teachers of our youth. The whole number of immigrants since 1820 now amounts to about fourteen millions.

1863,
Jan.
1.

1890.

The cheap lands of the great West offered inducements to the enterprising in the older States to migrate, and while they leveled the forests or brought the prairies under cultivation, the industry of the States they had left was stimulated, and, by means of manufactures and commerce, they supplied the wants of those who had gone West, and were themselves benefited in return by exchanging the product of their mills and workshops for cheaper food brought from the great valley.

As reported by the Secretary of the Interior, it appears that under that beneficent measure the Homestead

CHAP. Bill, during the twenty-five years it has been in operation,
LXXIII. an area equal that of New England, the Middle States and

1889. West Virginia, has been taken up and occupied as farms by one million forty-one thousand six hundred and sixty-six families or households, which on an average of five persons to each, aggregates five million two hundred and eight thousand.—more than the population of the State of New York by the census of 1880. The recent yearly average amount of area settled under this bill is about equal that of the States of Vermont and Rhode Island combined, while the annual average increase of households has been more than sixty thousand. In addition nearly one-third as much area has been yearly sold by the National Government to settlers, who prefer to purchase farms in certain localities, especially along railroads: besides the amount sold by railway corporations from lands granted them by the Government in aid of the construction of such roads. The combination of the three systems speedily forms settlements sufficiently populated to sustain churches and schools—so dear to the American heart.

The youth of the land have not been forgotten. public schools having their origin in Massachusetts, have become the heritage of *all* the States.¹ At convenient points Congress has set apart a liberal portion of the public lands for the special support of common schools in the new States and territories. The older States, meanwhile, have been making laudable exertions to increase their school funds. The number of pupils in academies, and in the public and private schools, is estimated at more than eight millions; and in colleges, theological seminaries, medical and law schools, the students number about eighty thousand.

The general progress of secular education, as well as in religious instruction, prepared the way for a new form of usefulness: the young men of the Nation were induced

¹ Hist. 123, 320.

as a class to make greater exertions than heretofore in the cause of morality, and to exert more influence by using their united strength. The first Young Men's Christian Association in the Union was organized in Boston; the second in New York City, and within a year ten similar ones were formed in other cities; and now there are in the Union 1,170 Associations having a membership of 195,456. These Associations, being an outgrowth of this age of the church, have, especially in the cities, ample fields for work in connection with church organizations. The members labor in Sabbath and mission schools; have libraries and reading-rooms—resorts for young men engaged in business—have Bible classes for their own members and for others; maintain literary classes as well as rooms for innocent amusements, and over all throw a Christian influence. In many of the cities Associations of Christian Young Women have been formed on the same principle, to promote a similar work of benevolence among young persons of their own sex.

Of two impediments to a universal education, one—slavery—has disappeared; and the other is diminishing rapidly, as the numerous immigrants, especially from Northern Europe and Germany, are superior in respect to their education to those of former times. *If no young man, when becoming of age, was permitted to vote unless he could read and write, we should have in less than a score of years a Nation in which there would scarcely be an illiterate voter.* In these days of free schools, the young man who has not sufficient mental power to learn to read and write should be set aside on the score of imbecility; and if he has the power and not the will much more is he derelict of duty, and unworthy to exercise the privilege

The same principles apply to Foreigners, who have ample time in the five years before they can become naturalized, to thus qualify themselves by learning to read

CHAP.
LXXIII.1851,
Dec. 9.
1852,

1889.

CHAP. *and write ; and if they neglect to perform that duty,*
 LXXIII *let them be disfranchised as well as the native-born*

1890.

In no respect has the mental energy of the Nation manifested itself so much as in the encouragement given to the public press. The common schools taught the youth to read ; the innate desire of acquiring knowledge was fostered ; and the fascinating newspaper, as it stately enters the domestic circle, reflects the world and records the progress of the age. By this means the most retired can be brought into sympathy with the world, in its yearnings after excellence, peace, and happiness.

1889

At the commencement of the Revolution there were but thirty-five newspapers, and they of a very limited circulation ; now, of all classes, are more than fifteen thousand. The population since that time has increased eighteen-fold, and the newspapers more than four-hundred-fold. Educated and accomplished minds discuss in their columns the important questions of the time, and upon these questions the Nation acts ; thence they pass into history. If the issues of the press are kept pure, the blessing in all its greatness far transcends mortal ken. Public opinion has been termed a tyrant ; but it is a tyrant that, if vicious, can be made virtuous—can be reformed if not dethroned. Let the virtue and the intelligence of the Nation see to it that it is a righteous tyrant, and submission to its iron rule will become a blessing.

In intimate connection with this intellectual progress is the increase of public libraries, found in so many of our cities. There are now more than ten thousand, and they contain about nine million volumes. These store-houses of knowledge are as diversified as the wants of the people. Among them are found the Sunday-school libraries, each with its few hundred volumes ; the social or circulating libraries, in almost every village or large town, and the numerous private as well as public libraries, containing much of the current literature of the day. An

important feature was introduced at the formation of the public library in New York City bearing the name of its founder, John Jacob Astor, and since increased by his son. Other great cities have also their fine public libraries—notably a very superior one in Boston, and the art of cataloguing and making available the treasures of such collections has made the position of librarian almost a profession.

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In the departments of human knowledge and literature we have names that are held in honor wherever the English language is read: in History, Prescott, Bancroft, Hildreth, and Motley; in Systematic Theology, Dr. Timothy Dwight, whose works have had a great influence in this country and in England, and Professor Charles Hodge; in Mental Philosophy, Jonathan Edwards; in Biblical Literature, Edward Robinson; in Poetry, Bryant, Longfellow, and Whittier; in Light Literature, Irving, Cooper, and Hawthorne; in Lexicography, Noah Webster; in Mathematics, Bowditch—many other eminent names might be added.

In art we have those who have exhibited evidence of genius that may yet give the Nation a name honored among those eminent in painting and sculpture. Her sons have not been surrounded by models from great masters to awaken in early life the slumbering genius, nor have they been encouraged by a traditionary reverence among the people for such manifestations of talent. It has been in the face of these disadvantages that they have reached their present high position, not by passing through a training laborious and preparatory, but almost at a bound.

We rejoice to see the great body of the people associating themselves for purposes of doing good or for self-improvement. There are in the land many religious and benevolent associations. Of the latter class is the Temperance movement, promoted at first greatly by the

CHAP. eloquence of Dr. Lyman Beecher, and which has had an
 LXXIII. immense influence for good upon the nation. The moral
 1890. phase of the subject has taken deep hold of the minds
 and conscience of the people, and in the end the cause
 must prevail. There is also no more cheering sign of the
 times than that of the people themselves becoming more
 and more acquainted with their civil rights and duties, and
 in their demanding virtue and political integrity in those
 who serve them in a public capacity, and, when there is
 a dereliction of duty, their promptly appealing to the
 ballot-box.

Governments had hitherto interfered more or less
 with the liberty of conscience. They assumed that in
 some way—though indefinable—they were responsible
 for the salvation of the souls of their subjects. Free in-
 quiry and a knowledge of the truths of the Bible, and
 the separation of Church and State, shifted that respon-
 sibility to the individual himself, and in consequence it
 became his recognized duty to support schools of learning
 and sustain religious institutions. This change in the
 minds of the people commenced in the great awakening¹
 1735. under Jonathan Edwards, and its influence had full ef-
 fect in the separation of Church and State after the Rev-
 olution.² To this principle of individual responsibility
 may be traced the voluntary support and the existence of
 the various benevolent operations of our own day, in
 which all the religious denominations participate. These
 in their efforts are not limited to the destitute portions
 of our own country, but in many foreign lands may be
 found the American missionary, a devoted teacher of
 Christianity and its humanizing civilization, supported
 and encouraged by the enlightened benevolence of his
 own countrymen. The same principle produces fruits in
 founding asylums for the purpose of relieving human
 suffering and distress, or smoothing the pathway of the

¹ Hist. p. 207.² Hist. p. 569.

unfortunate. The men of wealth in our day more fully appreciate their responsibility, and the mental energy exercised in its accumulation has more than in former times been consecrated to doing good. Millions have thus been given by individuals to found or aid institutions of learning, that the youth may be secured to virtue and intelligence—a blessed influence that will increase in power from age to age.

We inherit the English language and its glorious associations—the language of a free Gospel, free speech, and a free press. Its literature, imbued with the principles of liberty, civil and religious, and of correct morals, belongs to us. We claim the worthies of the Mother-country, whose writings have done so much to promote sound morality, with no less gratitude and pride than we do those of our own land. The commerce of the world is virtually in the hands of those speaking the English language. On the coasts of Asia, of Africa, in Australia, in the isles of the Pacific it has taken foothold—may it be the means of disseminating truth and carrying to the ends of the earth the blessings of Christianity.

The ultimate success of this Government and the stability of its institutions, its progress in all that can make a nation honored, depend upon its adherence to the principles of truth and righteousness. Let the part we are to perform in the world be not the subjugation of others to our sway by physical force, but the noble destiny to subdue by the influence and the diffusion of a Christianized civilization.

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CHAPTER LXXIV.

HOW WE ARE GOVERNED.

Political Training.—Colonial Governments.—The Congresses.—Articles of Confederation.—Framing of the Constitution.—The House.—The Senate.—Passage of Bills.—The President.—The Cabinet.—Departments: Of State.—Of the Treasury.—Of War.—Of the Navy.—Of the Interior.—Of the Post-Office.—Of Justice.—The Judiciary.—The Courts.—Trial by Impeachment.—Election of the President and Vice-President.—Governments: Of the States.—Of the Territories.—Of the District of Columbia.

CHAP. LXXIV. HAVING in this History traced the influences, and
1890. shown their results in forming our national character, it is thought proper to give a brief sketch of the principles of our government, and of the manner in which they are applied. In the family of nations ours is the youngest,¹ yet its founders availed themselves of the experience of the past, and in many instances ventured into new fields of political action and experiment.

We have seen the manner in which the people began to manage their own concerns in town and county meetings,² thus taking lessons in civil government; and this instruction, extending through two or three generations of the colonial period, fitted the patriot fathers to advance beyond their time and form a union of States independent in respect to their own internal affairs, yet under one national government. During all this training an underlying principle of popular representation pervaded even the crude forms in these town and county meetings, one which has culminated in "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

¹ Hist. p. 573.

² Hist. pp. 231, 236.

The efforts of the colonists in protecting themselves from the Indians, and afterward from the French and Indians combined, gave them self-reliance, and taught them the elements of government. The period intervening between the close of the French and Indian war and the commencement of the Revolution had also a marked effect on their political training;¹ while the self-denial and struggle during the Revolution revealed a power in the people themselves hitherto unknown. At the close of that war so much was true liberty appreciated by the mass of the people that, though distracted by financial troubles, the disorderly elements that came to the surface² were but a mere ripple on the otherwise smooth stream of their orderly conduct. A deep sense of responsibility pervaded thinking minds; this led to forming a Republic of States unique in its constitution, its members being independent and republican in the administration of their own affairs, and yet under a united National government. Says John Quincy Adams: "Our system is an anomaly in the history of the world; it is that which distinguishes us from all other nations, ancient and modern." Thus when the Constitution of the United States was framed it met the wants of the people, who would have been unable to appreciate its merits had they not been familiar with the history of the struggles which their fathers had had in colonial times with the Home Government, and more especially in their acquiring for themselves political ideas and making them practical during the twenty years then just past—for it was that length of time from the Treaty of Paris to the conclusion of peace with England at the close of the Revolution.

Our American form of government is that of a republican commonwealth based on popular representation. The source of power is the people themselves, who elect

¹ See Chaps. xxv. and xxvi.

² Hist. p. 562.

CHAP. to the Legislatures of the States or to Congress their
LXXIV. agents to make the laws. The same voters that established and still sustain the United States Government are the authors and supporters of the State governments. The whole present system went into effect after the Constitution of the United States was adopted by the people, and when George Washington was inaugurated president.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENTS.

The governments formed in colonial times were of three classes—the Charter, the Provincial, and the Proprietary. Of the first class were Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. The latter two had formed for themselves governments whose provisions were afterward secured to each by a Royal Charter; to the second belonged New Hampshire, New York, Virginia, and Georgia, which were Royal Provinces from the first having governors appointed by the king; to the third, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, being governed by the Proprietors to whom their soil was granted. To the latter class at first belonged also New Jersey and the two Carolinas, though afterward they were changed to the Royal or Provincial.

Virginia took the lead in having a House of Burgesses,¹ but none of these colonies in their legislation were independent of the English Government. We have seen the first efforts to form a union of the New England colonies;² then that of the United Colonies² was agreed upon, and finally that of the United States.² The first Congress,³ composed of delegates from nine of the colonies (all of New England except New Hampshire, the four Middle ones, and South Carolina), was held in New York in consequence of the passage of the Stamp Act, which act was speedily repealed, to be followed by equally

¹ Hist. p. 87, 88.

² List. pp. 122, 388, 412.

³ Hist. p. 335.

objectionable modes of taxation by the Home Government. These latter led to the First Continental Congress,¹ held in Philadelphia nine years later. This was succeeded by the Second Continental Congress the following year. These Congresses were composed of delegates whose authority as such was derived directly from the people. They adopted the rule that in voting upon measures "each colony should have one vote." That rule remained in force till the adoption of the present Constitution.

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The Second Continental Congress was never dissolved, though the members were not always the same, but continued in session for fourteen years till the adoption of the United States Constitution; the style was the "United Colonies," to be superseded by that of the "United States of America" on the Declaration of Independence. The latter was the act of the people through their Representatives in the Congress; not of the States as such, for the States were called into existence by the Declaration, and their former allegiance as colonists was then transferred from the Motherland to the people themselves.

It is worthy of notice that the people who were under Charters, and next them those under Proprietors, were thrown more upon their own resources in managing their political affairs than those who were under Provincial Governors appointed by the King, and thus having greater experience they became more self-reliant; there being no impediment in the form of arbitrary class distinctions, the people were mutually dependent upon one another and all were equally interested.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

After the Declaration was made, the necessity for a closer union among the States became apparent to the

¹ Hist. pp. 351, 367.

CHAP. leading minds of that period, and "Articles of Confed-
 LXXIV. eration" were agreed upon by Congress. But these "Articles" were not binding unless ratified by *all* the States, thus giving the power to any one State to neutralize the "Confederacy;" and this was the result for nearly five years, for it was only seven months before the surrender of Cornwallis that Maryland approved the "Articles." These "Articles" were the product of the States, as their title indicated—a "Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States." The Declaration of Independence spoke of the *people*, and our present Constitution says in its enacting clause, "We, the people, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." It would seem from this that the statesmen of that day had as much as they wished of a "Confederacy of States." The Articles of Confederation remained in force till the adoption of the present Constitution. They were crude and inconsistent. They authorized Congress to contract debts, but gave it no authority to raise money by taxation to pay them; and a State could at any time withdraw from the Confederacy. The people took in the situation; they elected delegates to a Convention, and the latter framed a Constitution which stands unrivaled for its inherent excellences, and its adaptability by means of amendments to all the phases of our national existence.

THE CONVENTION—ITS WORK—THE CONSTITUTION.

This remarkable Convention met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on the 14th of May, 1787.² After four months of labor, in which every principle involved in the Constitution was thoroughly discussed, that instrument was presented to the *people* for their approval or rejection. They approved it, and its principles were

¹ See Hist. pp. 562, 563.

² Hist. pp. 564-565

fully carried into effect, when the Government of the United States assumed a definite form, and George Washington was inaugurated President. CHAP.
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The Constitution arranges the powers of the Government in their natural order: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. These general divisions cover the entire field of the duties of administrative government, while, in a certain sense, they are independent of each other.

By Article I. the Legislative powers are thus defined: "All Legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives."¹ Article II. "The Executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." Article III. "The Judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." Article IV. treats of various minor subjects. Article V. "The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution," which amendments, "when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution." This method being the most convenient has been adopted in making amendments. Article VI. "This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land." Article VII. "The ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same." The delegates to these Conventions were elected by the people.

Here has been given the substance of the first seven Articles, with their many sections or subdivisions. In

¹ See for a fuller statement the Constitution in the Appendix.

CHAP. addition, fifteen Amendments have been adopted in order
LXXIV. to meet contingencies in the Nation's history.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT.

THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH.

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The ratio of representation¹ in the Lower House is determined by the number of members of which it is to consist: this number is established by vote of Congress. Then it becomes the duty of the Secretary of the Interior after each census to ascertain the number of representatives to which each State is entitled in proportion to the number of its inhabitants. Though a State may not have, according to this ratio, a sufficient population to entitle it to a representative, yet to such State one is assigned. Each Territory has one delegate to Congress; he is authorized to discuss subjects pertaining to his own Territory, but he is not entitled to vote. Vacancies that may occur in the House of Representatives by death or otherwise are filled by special elections, but only for the unexpired term.

The House elects a member to preside who is known as the Speaker, and of the other subordinate officers the most important is the Clerk. The latter is the only officer that holds over from one Congress to another, and it is his duty to make a list of the members and preside at the opening of a new Congress until its Speaker is chosen; the latter presides for two years, or the term of the Congress. According to the rules of the House, the important duty of appointing the committees and naming the chairman of each devolves upon the Speaker. As it would be impossible for every member of Congress to study carefully all the business that comes before that

¹ Hist. p. 843.

body, classified committees are appointed whose duty it is to investigate the Bills entrusted to their care, and make a report on the same to the House. The House of Representatives is changed every two years at the option of the people, for they can send the same member from term to term or refuse to re-elect him. Every Congress comes to an end on the third day of March in the odd years.

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THE SENATE.

The Senate in theory represents the States, each one of which, without reference to the number of its population, has two Senators. The members of the Senate are indirectly chosen by the people, inasmuch as they elect the State Legislatures who choose the United States Senators. When a vacancy occurs while the State Legislature is in session, that body proceeds to fill the seat, choosing a Senator on the second Tuesday after notice of the vacancy has been given in proper form. Should it occur when the Legislature is not in session, the Governor appoints a Senator to fill the place till its next meeting.

Owing to the overlapping of terms¹ (one third of the Senators being chosen every second year) the Senate is virtually a permanent body, as it can, from its constitution, always have a majority of members present. Neither can a Congressman or a Senator be removed from his office unless for cause till his term expires. Each House can discipline, punish, or, by a two third vote, expel its own members. There is no statute on the subject, though a member may be expelled for conduct that is not consistent with the trust and duty of a member, the House or Senate being the judge. The Senate elects its own committees by ballot. The Vice-President presides, but has no vote unless there is a tie. If the Vice-President

¹ Hist. p. 843.

CHAP. becomes President of the United States, the Senate
LXXIV. elects from its members a President *pro tempore*, who is not restricted to a casting vote; he has a vote only as Senator. Congress—both Houses—meets on the first Monday in December of each year. The members are paid from the United States Treasury; thus in that respect they are independent of their own States. The compensation is five thousand dollars a year (since 1874), and in addition travelling expenses.

PASSAGE OF BILLS, ETC.

Every bill requiring the President's signature, must first pass the House and the Senate by a majority vote, and then be sent officially to the President for his approval. Joint Resolutions of Congress proposing amendments to the Constitution, or naming a day for adjournment do not require the signature of the President to make them effective. All bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives; perhaps, because its members come more directly from the people themselves; but the Senate may propose amendments or concur as it does in respect to other bills.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH.

THE PRESIDENT.

The President, although his chief duties are to execute the laws of the United States as framed by the Congress, yet has a power in the legislation itself; although it is a negative rather than a positive power. If he signs the bills passed by Congress they become laws; if he vetoes them—that is, refuses to sign them—they can become laws on being passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote of both Houses of Congress—the *yays and nays* being taken—or, if after being passed by both Houses and sent to the President, he retains them ten days (Sundays

excepted) without either signature or veto, they become laws, unless in the meanwhile Congress has adjourned. When a bill has been passed over the President's veto, in addition to the official signatures of the Speaker and the President of the Senate, certificates to that effect are also signed by the Clerk of the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Senate and appended to the bill. When a bill has been detained beyond the specified time by the President a note is appended to it by the Department of State certifying to that fact.

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THE CABINET—HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS.

The President has the right to choose his "constitutional advisers," or the "Heads of Departments" in the sense of the Constitution; he nominates them to the Senate, which confirms or rejects the nomination. These constitute his Cabinet. At first there were only three departments, now there are seven; the growth of the country demanding the increase. They are as follows: the Departments of State, of the Treasury, of War, of the Navy, of the Interior, of the Post-office, and of Justice. The presiding officers of the first five are termed Secretaries, the two latter Postmaster-General and Attorney-General. The salary of the President is fifty thousand dollars a year; that of the Vice-President and each member of the Cabinet is eight thousand dollars.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The Department of State is deemed the most important, as on its Secretary, under the direction of the President, devolves the management of our foreign relations, the negotiation of treaties, and intercourse with other governments. To him is entrusted the seal of the United States, which he affixes to the documents signed by the President, such as commissions, proclamations, etc. The credentials of every ambassador, chargé

CHAP. d'affaires, consul, etc., to foreign courts all come within
LXXIV. the supervision of this department.

THE TREASURY.

The Treasury Department has control of the financial affairs of the country; the collection of the revenue, the internal as well as that derived from imposts on imported merchandise; the issue of warrants for the disbursement of the moneys appropriated by Congress. The importance of this department is very great, especially since the national debt has been so much increased. This is manifested in the immense amounts disbursed, and the establishment of a system of National Banks and the supervision of the currency of the country.

There are in connection with this department sixteen minor officers or heads of bureaus: two Comptrollers, first and second, six Auditors, a Treasurer, Register, Commissioner of Customs, Comptroller of the Currency, Commissioner of Internal Revenue, Chiefs of the Bureau of Statistics, the Mint, and Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The latter has charge of the engraving and printing of internal revenue stamps, the notes, bonds, and securities of the United States, and the national bank-notes. In addition to these is the supervision of the Coast Survey and the Light-House Board. Congress alone has the "sole and exclusive right to coin money," and for this purpose it established a Mint at Philadelphia in 1792. Afterward branch Mints were put in operation at different places; of these some have been discontinued. The Mint was made a Bureau of the Treasury in 1873, and since then Mints have been located only at Philadelphia, San Francisco, Cal., Carson City, Nevada, and Denver, Col. With the exception of the main one at Philadelphia, the coins issued from these Mints are stamped with initial letters—S. for San Francisco, C. C. for Carson City, etc.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

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The War Department has various subdivisions, such as the offices of the Adjutant, the Quartermaster, Commissary, Paymaster, and Surgeon, Generals, and of the Chief of Engineers, the office of Ordnance and the Signal office, with the Bureau of Military Justice. The Military Academy at West Point is also under the supervision of the War Department. This institution is supported by the United States Government, each cadet being furnished with sufficient means to pay his entire expenses while a student. They are admitted only between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two. Each Congressional District has one cadet, each Territory one, the District of Columbia one, and ten at large are appointed by the President. On graduation cadets are appointed second lieutenants in the various branches of the army (the Engineer Corps, Ordnance Department, Artillery, Cavalry, or Infantry), and are expected to serve at least three years before resigning their commissions.

NAVY DEPARTMENT.

The Navy Department has seven divisions known as Bureaus: that of Equipment and Recruiting, of Navigation, of Ordnance, of Medicine and Surgery, of Provisions and Clothing, of Steam Engineering, and of Construction and Repair. It has also nine navy-yards, where vessels are built and repaired. The Naval Academy located at Annapolis, Maryland, bears the same relation to the navy that the Military Academy at West Point, N. Y., does to the army. The students are called cadet-midshipmen; none are admitted under fourteen nor over eighteen years of age. There may be one from each Congressional District, with ten at large appointed by the President, and one from each Territory. The course of

CHAP. study is for six years: on graduating they take rank as
LXXIV. midshipmen and are promoted as vacancies occur, the
promotion being based on their rank in class.

THE INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

The Department of the Interior has numerous duties to perform. Among these the supervision of the Census, of the Land Office and of Mines, and the Accounts of the Officers of the Courts, Indian Affairs, Pensions, care of the Public Buildings, and of the Territories, Education, and the Patent Office.

Every land district has a surveyor-general; of these there are from fifteen to twenty. It is their duty to survey the public lands, marking them out into sections of one mile square containing 640 acres, and these again into quarter sections, and, if required, into eighths and sixteenths. These measurements are based on meridian lines. The township, another division, contains thirty-six square miles. Of the latter the first square mile and the thirty-sixth are appropriated for the support of schools when the Territory becomes a State. The Office of Education was established by the National Government in 1868, and placed under the supervision of the Interior Department.

The "Agricultural Bureau" has for its object to acquire and disseminate useful information among the people on subjects connected with agriculture.

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

The Post-Office Department has been a necessity since the origin of the Government; its utility has been greatly enhanced since the system of comparative "cheap postage" was introduced.¹ The Postmaster-General has three assistants, first, second, and third, and also Superintendents of

¹ Hist. p. 750.

the Money-order Bureau and of Foreign Mails. In addition to these are six "chief clerks" as overseers in the various offices. This department is nearer being self-supporting now than at any time in its existence. CHAP.
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The Department of Justice was established in 1870. The Attorney-General is its chief officer. It is his duty to prosecute in the Supreme Court all suits in which the United States is a party ; to give in writing legal advice when required by the President or the heads of departments on questions relating to their official acts. To this department has been assigned the Solicitor of the Treasury and the Solicitor of Internal Revenue, the Naval Solicitor, and the Examiner of Claims. Thus the secretaries of the other departments call upon that of justice for the legal service they require.

THE JUDICIARY BRANCH.

The States of the Union are divided into nine judicial circuits ; to each one of these a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is assigned by order of that court, and each one has its own United States Circuit Judge. Thus the Supreme Court of the United States consists of a Chief Justice and eight Associate Justices, corresponding to the number of circuits—the Chief Justice also having one. The Supreme Court—the Chief Justice presiding—holds a session for a portion of the year at the Seat of Government. In addition the Associates hold courts in their several circuits. The Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. That they may be as independent as possible in the discharge of their duties, they hold office *during good behavior*. There is also a Supreme Court for the District of Columbia and a Court of Claims. In

CHAP. LXXIV. each Territory, when organized, a Chief Justice and two assistants are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The salary of the Chief Justice of the United States is \$10,500 a year; each associate \$10,000.

IMPEACHMENT OF U. S. OFFICERS.

Following the analogy of the civil law, as no citizen can be tried before a court until he is indicted by the Grand Jury, so no officer of the United States Government can be tried unless articles of impeachment are presented to the court (the Senate) by the House of Representatives. In the latter a committee is appointed to investigate the charges; they report to the House, which acts upon the question and decides by vote; if in the affirmative, articles of impeachment are prepared by a Select Committee, whose duty it is to prosecute the trial before the Senate. The Vice-President presides in all cases of impeachment, except when the President of the United States is under trial, then the Chief Justice of the United States presides. This arrangement is for the obvious reason that in case the President is removed the Vice-President would succeed to the office.

In case of conviction the punishment is only political—the “removal from office,” to which can be added “disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.” If there has been a criminal violation of law the individual thus found guilty is liable to be brought to trial in a civil court.

ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT.

The manner in which elections for President and Vice-President are conducted is somewhat complex. The people vote direct for Electors, who are to vote for the candidates. These electoral votes are counted by States; that is, each State casts as many votes as it has represen-

tatives in Congress, namely, two electors at large to represent the Senators, and one for each Congressman the State may have. CHAP.
LXXIV.

Originally the framers of the Constitution thought it inexpedient to give the people the privilege of voting direct for the highest officers—the President and Vice-President—but instead to vote for electors who were authorized to choose these officers. For aught that is in the Constitution, the electors can choose whom they please without reference to the will of the people. But the latter soon demanded that the former should pledge themselves to vote for the candidates whom the people preferred. The electors were at first authorized to vote for two persons for the office of President and Vice-President without designating one for either office—the one having the highest number of votes was to be President and the one having the next highest to be Vice-President.¹ As to qualifications the Constitution says: “No person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States shall be appointed an elector.”

The custom has grown up for the people of each State as practically represented by the different political organizations or parties, to hold primary assemblies and choose delegates to their own State Convention; the latter appoints—each for its own political party—a list of the electors for the State, and chooses the delegates to a National Convention. The various National Conventions then nominate the rival candidates for the presidency and the vice-presidency. The different political organizations or parties have thus virtually secured the pledges of the electors for the party candidates; and, although the vote in each State is for the “Electoral ticket,” that is now but an empty form used to get the candidates they prefer before the people.

The electors are chosen by popular vote on the Tuesday

¹ Constitution, Article II. and Amendment XII.

CHAP. next after the first Monday of November, in the year
XXXIV. previous to the close of the current term of the President, and these electors are required by law to meet at the capitals of their respective States and there deposit their votes on the second Monday of the next January. Of these votes they make and sign three certificates, one of which is given to the judge of the district in which the electors meet, one is sent by an authorized messenger to the President of the Senate at Washington, and to the same official the third is sent by mail. On the second Wednesday in the following February these votes are counted in the presence of both Houses of Congress, conjointly assembled for the purpose. The nominee declared elected President is inaugurated on the 4th of March next succeeding.

STATE GOVERNMENTS.

The State governments have in the main the characteristics of that of the United States. They have the three primary divisions: the Legislative, the Executive, and the Judicial. They may differ somewhat in detail, but they are all republican in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of the United States. In all of them, Legislatures and Executives called Governors are elected by the people; the judges in some States are elected and in others appointed. In respect to the Governor's power of veto, the practice in the States is not uniform; in some it can be overruled by a bare majority in each House, in others it does not exist, while for the most part the States follow the rule that obtains in Congress. The State governments have to do with their own local affairs; the United States with those that pertain to foreign nations and to matters belonging to the whole people without regard to State lines, such as the national finances, import duties or tariffs, and internal improvements. The laws of the respective States must not con-

flict with the Constitution of the United States, which is the supreme law of the land; neither should they come in conflict with other State laws; for illustration, it would be better to have uniformity in the States in respect to the descent of property, and one class of crime and immorality would receive a check if stringent laws respecting the marriage relation were uniform throughout the Union.

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LXXIV.

THE TERRITORIES.

Congress has the exclusive right to govern the Territories, as they are the property of the whole Nation. This right is derived from the Constitution of the United States. The people of the Territories have their civil rights, but their political rights are limited to electing their own Legislature and choosing a delegate to represent their interests in Congress.

Whenever Congress deems it expedient it may organize a Territorial government, which is usually composed of a Legislature consisting of a House of Representatives and a Council elected by a popular vote of the inhabitants; a Governor, who is appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate; also in the same manner a Chief Justice and two Associate Justices to preside over the courts, which consist of a Supreme Court, District Courts, and Probate Courts; in addition, a United States Attorney, Marshal, and Justices of the Peace. The members of the Council are elected for two years, the members of the House for one. The Governor has the veto power, subject to the two-thirds vote of the Legislature. The officers of the Territories are paid from the United States Treasury.

When the people wish to become a State, Congress can pass an enabling act which authorizes them to frame a Constitution. This in due form is presented to Congress, and if it is in accordance with the Constitution of

CHAP. the United States the Territory is received into the
LXXIV. Union as a State.

THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

The District of Columbia is governed by Congress somewhat differently. In 1878 an act passed by that body placed its government under a Board of three Commissioners; two to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate for a term of three years; for the third the President details an officer from the Corps of Engineers. These Commissioners have the general oversight of the municipal affairs of the District; they appoint the police, the firemen, and the trustees of the schools. One half of the municipal expenses is borne by the United States Treasury and the other half is raised by taxation of the property of the District.

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APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

AMENDMENTS TO THE SAME.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

CHIEF JUSTICES OF U. S. SUPREME COURT.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE FORTY-FIVE MOST POPULOUS CITIES OF THE
NATION.

"As the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."—WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE.

APPENDIX.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION. 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other Persons. The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware

one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole Power of impeachment.

SECTION. 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the Absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two-thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and Disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honour, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION. 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the places of chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and

such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5. Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it becomes a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas

and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION. 8. The Congress shall have Power

To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the

Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the authority of training the Militia according to the Discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, Dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9. The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or Duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

SECTION. 10. No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any bill of Attainder, ex post

facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of Delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION. 1. The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[* The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A Quorum for

* This clause within brackets has been superseded and annulled by the XIIth amendment, on page 1013.

this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation :—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION. 2. The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other

public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION. 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behavior, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2. The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers, and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party:—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and a Citizen of another State;—between Citizens of different States.—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases be-

fore mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION. 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION. 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

SECTION. 3. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF,
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA.

Proposed by Congress, and ratified by the Legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

(ARTICLE I.)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

(ARTICLE II.)

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

(ARTICLE III.)

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

(ARTICLE IV.)

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

(ARTICLE V.)

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall

private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

(ARTICLE VI.)

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial Jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have Compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favour, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

(ARTICLE VII.)

In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

(ARTICLE VIII.)

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

(ARTICLE IX.)

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

(ARTICLE X.)

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

(ARTICLE XI.)

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

(ARTICLE XII.)

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and

of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number shall be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

(ARTICLE XIII.)

1865.

1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

(ARTICLE XIV.)

1868.

SECTION. 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall any State de

prive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION. 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, recognized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

(ARTICLE XV.)

1870.

SECTION. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

APPENDIX.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.*

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the laws of nature, and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the

* For attending circumstances, see Vol. I. p. 411.

patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and

magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

[Here followed the names of the fifty-six Signers.]

THE SIGNERS.

The above Declaration, which, after a preliminary vote of the Congress by States, was formally adopted on July 4th, 1776, was attested by the signatures of the following fifty-six delegates. The various elements of the people represented may be judged by the diversity of the occupations of these members of the Continental Congress: farmers, 14; merchants, 9; manufacturer, 1; lawyers, 24; physicians, 4; clergymen, 4,—including one actual ministrant and three educated for the profession who had taken up other labors. The bold signature of John Hancock, President of the Congress, stood first. The list in alphabetical order is as follows :

NAMES.	BIRTHS.	REPRESENTING.	DEATHS.
JOHN ADAMS.....	Braintree, Mass.,	Oct. 19, 1735. Massachusetts.....	July 4, 1826
SAMUEL ADAMS.....	Boston, Mass.,	Sept. 22, 1722. Massachusetts.....	Oct. 2, 1803
JOSIAH BARTLETT.....	Amesbury, Mass.,	Nov., 1729. New Hampshire.....	May 19, 1795
CARTER BRAXTON.....	Newington, Va.,	Sept. 10, 1736. Virginia.....	Oct. 10, 1797
CHAS. CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.....	Annapolis, Md.,	Sept. 20, 1737. Maryland.....	Nov. 14, 1832
SAMUEL CHASE.....	Somerset Co., Md.,	Apr. 17, 1741. Maryland.....	June 19, 1811
ABRAHAM CLARKE.....	Elizabeth ⁿ , N.J.,	Feb. 15, 1726. New Jersey.....	June 17, 1794
GEORGE CLYMER.....	Philadelphia, Penn.,	1739. Pennsylvania.....	Jan. 24, 1813
WILLIAM ELLERY.....	Newport, R. I.,	Dec. 22, 1727. R. I. & Prov. Pl. Feb.	15, 1820
WILLIAM FLOYD.....	Suffolk Co., N. Y.,	Dec. 17, 1734. New York.....	Aug. 4, 1821
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.....	Boston, Mass.,	Jan. 17, 1706. Pennsylvania.....	April 17, 1790
ELBRIDGE GERRY.....	Marblehead, Mass.,	Jul. 17, 1744. Massachusetts.....	Nov. 23, 1814
BUTTON GWINNET.....	England,	1732. Georgia.....	May 27, 1777
LYMAN HALL.....	Connecticut,	1731. Georgia.....	Feb. —, 1790
JOHN HANCOCK.....	Braintree, Mass.,	1737. Massachusetts.....	Oct. 8, 1793
BENJAMIN HARRISON.....	Berkely, Va.,	1731. Virginia.....	April —, 1791
JOHN HART.....	Hopewell, N. J.,	about 1715. New Jersey.....	—, 1780
THOMAS HEYWARD, Jr.....	St. Luke's, S. C.,	1746. South Carolina.....	Mar. —, 1809
JOSEPH HEWES.....	Kingston, N. J.,	1730. North Carolina.....	Nov. 10, 1779
WILLIAM HOOPER.....	Boston, Mass.,	June 17, 1742. North Carolina.....	Oct. —, 1790
STEPHEN HOPKINS.....	Scituate, Mass.,	March 7, 1707. R. I. & Prov. Pl. July	19, 1785
FRANCIS HOPKINSON.....	Philadelphia, Penn.,	1737. New Jersey.....	May 9, 1790
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON.....	Windham, Conn.,	July 3, 1739. Connecticut.....	Jan. 5, 1796
THOMAS JEFFERSON.....	Shadwell, Va.,	April 13, 1743. Virginia.....	July 4, 1826
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE.....	Stratford, Va.,	Oct. 14, 1734. Virginia.....	April —, 1797
RICHARD HENRY LEE.....	Stratford, Va.,	Jan. 20, 1732. Virginia.....	June 19, 1794
FRANCIS LEWIS.....	Landaff, Wales,	March, 1713. New York.....	Dec. 30, 1803
PHILIP LIVINGSTON.....	Albany, N. Y.,	Jan. 15, 1716. New York.....	June 12, 1778
THOMAS LYNCH, Jr.....	St. George's, S. C.,	Aug. 5, 1749. So. Carolina.....	Lost at sea, 1779
THOMAS M'KEAN.....	Chester Co., Pa.,	Mar. 19, 1734. Delaware.....	June 24, 1817
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.....	Middleton Place, S. C.,	1743. South Carolina.....	Jan. 1, 1787
LEWIS MORRIS.....	Morrisania, N. Y.,	1726. New York.....	Jan. 23, 1798
ROBERT MORRIS.....	Lancashire, Engl.,	Jan., 1733. Pennsylvania.....	May 8, 1806
JOHN MORTON.....	Ridley, Penn.,	1724. Pennsylvania.....	April —, 1777
THOMAS NELSON, Jr.....	York, Va.,	Dec. 26, 1738. Virginia.....	Jan. 4, 1789
WILLIAM PACA.....	Wye-Hill, Md.,	Oct. 31, 1740. Maryland.....	—, 1799
ROBERT TREAT PAINE.....	Boston, Mass.,	1731. Massachusetts.....	May 11, 1814
JOHN PENN.....	Caroline Co., Va.,	May 17, 1741. North Carolina.....	Sept. —, 1788
GEORGE READ.....	Cecil Co., Md.,	1734. Delaware.....	—, 1798
CÆSAR RODNEY.....	Dover, Del.,	1730. Delaware.....	—, 1783
GEORGE ROSS.....	New Castle, Del.,	1730. Pennsylvania.....	July —, 1779
BENJAMIN RUSH, M.D.....	Byberry, Penn.,	Dec. 24, 1745. Pennsylvania.....	April 19, 1813
EDWARD RUTLEDGE.....	Charleston, S. C.,	Nov., 1749. South Carolina.....	Jan. 23, 1800
ROGER SHERMAN.....	Newton, Mass.,	April 19, 1721. Connecticut.....	July 23, 1793
JAMES SMITH.....	Ireland,	—, Pennsylvania.....	July 11, 1806
RICHARD STOCKTON.....	Princeton, N. J.,	Oct. 1, 1730. New Jersey.....	Feb. 28, 1781
THOMAS STONE.....	Charles Co., Md.,	1742. Maryland.....	Oct. 5, 1787
GEORGE TAYLOR.....	Ireland,	1716. Pennsylvania.....	Feb. 23, 1781
MATTHEW THORNTON.....	Ireland,	1714. New Hampshire.....	June 24, 1803
GEORGE WALTON.....	Frederick Co., Va.,	1740. Georgia.....	Feb. 2, 1804
WILLIAM WHIPPLE.....	Kittery, Maine,	1730. New Hampshire.....	Nov. 28, 1785
WILLIAM WILLIAMS.....	Lebanon, Conn.,	April 8, 1731. Connecticut.....	Aug. 2, 1811
JAMES WILSON.....	Scotland,	about 1742. Pennsylvania.....	Aug. 28, 1798
JOHN WITHERSPOON.....	Yester, Scotland,	Feb. 5, 1722. New Jersey.....	Nov. 15, 1794
OLIVER WOLCOTT.....	Windsor, Conn.,	Nov. 26, 1726. Connecticut.....	Dec. 1, 1797
GEORGE WYTHE.....	Elizabeth City Co., Va.,	1726. Virginia.....	June 8, 1806

PRESIDENTS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,
FROM 1774 TO 1788.

Peyton Randolph.....	Virginia.....	September	5, 1774.
Henry Middleton.....	South Carolina	October	22, 1774.
Peyton Randolph.....	Virginia.....	May	10, 1775.
John Hancock	Massachusetts	May	24, 1775.
Henry Laurens.....	South Carolina	November	1, 1777.
John Jay.....	New York.....	December	10, 1778.
Samuel Huntington....	Connecticut.....	September	28, 1779.
Thomas McKean.....	Delaware.....	July	10, 1781.
John Hanson.....	Maryland.....	November	5, 1781.
Elias Boudinot.....	New Jersey.....	November	4, 1782.
Thomas Mifflin.....	Pennsylvania.....	November	3, 1783.
Richard Henry Lee.....	Virginia	November	30, 1784.
Nathaniel Gorham.....	Massachusetts	June	6, 1786.
Arthur St. Clair.....	Pennsylvania.....	February	2, 1787.
Cyrus Griffin.....	Virginia.....	January	22, 1788.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE DECLARED JULY 4, 1776.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION ADOPTED JULY 9, 1778.

CHIEF JUSTICES OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME
COURT, 1789-1881.

John Jay.....	New York.....	September	26, 1789.
John Rutledge.....	South Carolina.....	July	1, 1795.
(Ratification refused by the Senate.)			
William Cushing.....	Massachusetts.....	January	27, 1796.
(Appointment declined.)			
Oliver Ellsworth.....	Connecticut.....	March	4, 1796.
John Jay.....	New York.....	December	19, 1800.
(Appointment declined.)			
John Marshall.....	Virginia	January	31, 1801.
Roger B. Taney.....	Maryland.....	December	28, 1835.
Salmon P. Chase.....	Ohio.....	December	6, 1864.
Morrison R. Waite.....	Ohio.....	January	21, 1874.
Melville W. Fuller.....	Illinois.....	April	30, 1888.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES,

FROM 1789 TO 1890.

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Born.</i>	<i>Died.</i>	<i>Age</i>
George Washington . . .	Va., 1732,	Mt. Vernon, Va., 1799,	67
John Adams	Mass., 1735,	Quincy, Mass., July 4, 1826,	91
Thomas Jefferson	Va., 1743,	Monticello, Va., July 4, 1826,	83
James Madison	Va., 1751,	Montpelier, Vt., 1836,	85
James Monroe	Va., 1758,	New York, July 4, 1831,	73
John Quincy Adams . .	Mass., 1767,	Washington, D. C., 1848,	81
Andrew Jackson	N. C., 1767,	Hermitage, Tenn., 1845,	78
Martin Van Buren	N. Y., 1782,	Kinderhook, N. Y., 1862,	80
Wm. Henry Harrison .	Va., 1773,	Washington, D. C., 1841,	68
John Tyler	Va., 1790,	Richmond, Va., 1862,	72
James K. Polk	N. C., 1795,	Nashville, Tenn., 1849,	54
Zachary Taylor	Va., 1784,	Washington, D. C., 1850,	66
Millard Fillmore	N. Y., 1800,	Buffalo, N. Y., 1873,	73
Franklin Pierce	N. H., 1804,	Concord, N. H., 1869,	65
James Buchanan	Penn., 1791,	Wheatland, Penn., 1868,	77
Abraham Lincoln	Ky., 1809,	Washington, D. C., 1865,	56
Andrew Johnson	N. C., 1808,	Greenville, Tenn., 1875,	67
Ulysses S. Grant	Ohio, 1822,	Mt. McGregor, N. Y., 1885,	63
Rutherford B. Hayes . .	" 1822,		
James A. Garfield	" 1831,	Elberon, N. J., Sept. 19, 1881,	50
Chester A. Arthur . . .	Vt., 1830,	New York City, Nov. 18, '86,	56
Grover Cleveland	N. J., 1837,		
Benjamin Harrison . .	Ohio, 1833,		

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

ACCORDING TO THE LATEST CENSUS. 1890.

<i>States.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>States.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
Alabama	1,508,073	Nebraska.....	1,056,793
Arkansas	1,125,385	Nevada.....	44,327
California	1,204,002	New Hampshire.....	375,827
Colorado.....	410,975	New Jersey.....	1,441,017
Connecticut.....	745,861	New York.....	5,981,934
Delaware.....	167,871	North Carolina	1,617,340
Florida.....	390,435	North Dakota.....	182,425
Georgia	1,834,366	Ohio	3,666,719
Idaho	84,229	Oregon.....	312,490
Illinois	3,818,536	Pennsylvania	5,248,574
Indiana.....	2,189,030	Rhode Island.....	345,343
Iowa	1,906,729	South Carolina.....	1,147,161
Kansas	1,423,485	South Dakota.....	327,848
Kentucky	1,855,436	Tennessee	1,763,723
Louisiana.....	1,116,828	Texas	2,232,220
Maine.....	660,261	Vermont	332,205
Maryland.....	1,040,431	Virginia.....	1,648,911
Massachusetts.....	2,233,407	Washington	349,516
Michigan	2,089,792	West Virginia	760,448
Minnesota	1,300,017	Wisconsin.....	1,683,697
Mississippi.....	1,284,887	Wyoming	60,589
Missouri.....	2,677,080		
Montana.....	131,769	Total of States.....	61,777,992

<i>Territories.</i>	<i>Population.</i>	<i>Territories.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
Alaska.....		Oklahoma.....	61,701
Arizona.....	59,691	Utah	206,498
District of Columbia...	229,796		
New Mexico.....	144,862	Total of Territories..	702,548
		“ “ States.....	61,777,992

Total United States (1890).....	62,480,540
“ “ “ (1880).....	50,153,783
“ “ “ (1870).....	38,558,371
“ “ “ (1860).....	31,218,021

THE MOST POPULOUS CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Cities.</i>	1890.	1880.	1870.	1860.
1	New York.....	1,513,501	1,206,590	942,292	805,658
2	Chicago.....	1,099,133	503,304	298,877	109,260
3	Philadelphia....	1,046,252	846,984	674,022	565,529
4	Brooklyn.....	804,377	566,689	396,009	206,661
5	St. Louis.....	460,357	350,522	310,864	160,773
6	Boston.....	446,507	362,535	250,526	177,840
7	Baltimore.....	433,547	332,190	367,354	212,411
8	San Francisco...	297,990	233,956	149,743	56,802
9	Cincinnati.....	296,309	255,708	216,239	161,044
10	Cleveland.....	261,546	160,142	92,829	43,417
11	Buffalo.....	254,457	155,137	117,714	81,129
12	New Orleans...	241,995	216,140	191,418	168,675
13	Pittsburg.....	233,473	156,381	86,076	49,217
14	Washington City	229,796	147,307	109,199	61,122
15	Detroit.....	205,669	116,342	79,577	45,619
16	Milwaukee.....	204,150	115,578	71,440	45,246
17	Newark.....	184,518	136,400	105,059	71,941
18	Minneapolis....	164,738	46,877	13,066
19	Jersey City.....	163,987	120,728	82,546	29,226
20	Louisville.....	161,005	123,645	100,753	68,033
21	Rochester.....	138,327	89,363	62,386	48,204
22	St. Paul.....	133,156	41,498	20,030	below 11,500
23	Kansas City....	132,416	55,813	32,260
24	Providence.....	132,043	104,850	68,904	50,666
25	Indianapolis....	107,445	75,074	48,244	18,611
26	Allegheny.....	104,967	78,681	53,180	28,702
27	Columbus, O....	90,398	51,665	31,274	18,555
28	Albany.....	94,640	90,903	69,422	62,367
29	Syracuse, N. Y..	87,877	51,791	43,051	28,119
30	New Haven.....	85,981	62,882	50,840	39,267
31	Worcester.....	84,536	58,295	41,105	24,960
32	Scranton.....	83,450	45,850	35,092	...
33	Toledo.....	82,652	50,143	31,584	13,768
34	Richmond.....	80,833	63,803	51,018	37,910
35	Paterson.....	78,358	50,887	33,579	19,588
36	Lowell.....	77,605	59,485	40,928	36,827
37	Nashville.....	76,309	43,461	25,865	16,987
38	Fall River.....	74,351	49,006	26,766	14,026
39	Cambridge, Mass.	69,837	52,740	39,634	26,060
40	Wilmington, Del.	61,437	42,499	30,841	21,258
41	Troy.....	60,699	56,747	40,463	39,235
42	Reading.....	58,926	43,280	33,630	23,162
43	Charleston, S. C.	54,592	49,999	48,956	40,574
44	Hartford.....	53,182	42,553	37,180	29,152
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